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THE ANNALS OF TACITUS

BOOKS I TO VI

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TRANSLATED BY
ALFRED V. STYMONS, LL.B.
THE ANNALS OF TACITUS
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BOOKS I TO VI

TRANSLATED BY
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INTRODUCTION

THE works of Tacitus should appeal very strongly to the modern Englishman. The beginnings of English history are to be found in his pages. He was the first great historian who placed on record the gallant but hopeless struggles of the Britons under Boadicea and Caractacus against the irresistible might of Rome ; and it was his own father-in-law, Agricola, whose Life he wrote, who finally achieved the conquest of our island.

But there is another reason why Tacitus as an author has a special claim upon the attention of the Englishman of to-day. The spirit of the age with which he dealt was, in many respects, peculiarly modern : and it cannot fail to interest, and perhaps to profit, us to compare and contrast the modern Imperialism, under which we live, with the greatest Imperialism of the past. We may learn much from the great artist who painted such vivid, sometimes such lurid, pictures of the period in which he lived, a period which left an indelible impress upon future ages, the period in which the Roman Empire reached the zenith of its power, while already betraying symptoms of the causes which contributed to its fall.

For Tacitus was not only a great historian ; he was also a great teacher : or perhaps it would be more true to say that he recognised that the chief value of history consists in the lessons which it teaches. " For I hold," he says, " that it is the principal function of history to see to it that noble deeds are not lost in oblivion, and to act as a deterrent to evil words and evil actions by exposing them to the judgment of posterity and to the everlasting

infamy which they entail.”¹ Throughout his historical writings we seem to observe an undercurrent of political and moral philosophy which, though adapted in the first instance to the unique social organisation which he is describing, is not seldom capable of a far wider application. And apart from the literary and artistic excellence of his work, and the engrossing interest of his subject-matter, it is this characteristic which makes what he has written so peculiarly valuable to the student of political history, and especially of that portion of political history which has a direct bearing upon the problem of Imperialism.

The story of his own life is important as explaining and illustrating the views which Tacitus held on the type of Imperialism of which he had personal knowledge. Indeed, in order to preserve a clear understanding of the standpoint from which he regarded the persons and the events which he portrayed, and to appreciate his historical criticisms, it is necessary continually to bear in mind both the age in which he lived and the circumstances which determined the “personal bias” which his works reveal.

The little that is known about the life of Tacitus is derived almost entirely from his own writings or from references to him in the writings of his friend, the Younger Pliny.

The date of his birth is approximately fixed by a passage in the *Histories*, in which he says :—“Personally, Galba, Otho, and Vitellius are unknown to me, either for benefits received or injuries suffered at their hands. My public career commenced under Vespasian; I owed my first promotion to Titus, and my further advancement to Domitian.”² From this passage it seems to follow that Tacitus began his public career, as quaestor, presumably, not later than A.D. 79, the year of Vespasian’s death; and

¹ *Annals*, III. 65.

² *Histories*, I. 1.

as there is every reason to suppose that he would have attained the quaestorship at the earliest legal age—that is to say, when he was twenty-five years old—it may be inferred that he was born not later than A.D. 54. The Younger Pliny, who, as we know, was born in A.D. 61 or 62, speaks of Tacitus as being about the same age as himself, but as he also states that his friend had already made his mark when his own public life commenced, it is not improbable that there were some eight years between them.

On the assumption that the *Dialogus de Oratoribus* is the work of Tacitus, we have his own authority for the statement that in his early days he studied oratory under M. Aper and Julius Secundus ;³ and from the *Agricola* we learn that he was betrothed to the daughter of Cnaeus Julius Agricola during the consulship of his father-in-law, in A.D. 77.⁴ He probably became quaestor and entered the Senate in 78 or 79, and was tribune or aedile in 80 or 81. From the *Annals*, Book XI. chapter 11, we know that in 88 he was praetor, and also quindecimvir, and that in his twofold official capacity he was present at the Games celebrated by Domitian in that year. From 89 to 93 he was absent from Rome on official business of some kind, perhaps administering one of the smaller Imperial provinces. He appears to have returned to Rome in 93, and in view of the description given by him in the *Agricola*⁵ there can be little doubt that he was in Rome throughout the reign of terror under Domitian from 93 to 96. In 97, on the death of L. Verginius Rufus, Tacitus became consul in his place, and delivered the funeral oration on his predecessor.⁶ In the year 100 Tacitus and Pliny were chosen to conduct the prosecution of Marius Priscus, the pro-consul of Africa, on charges of extortion, corruption, and

³ De Oratoribus, 2.

⁵ Agricola, 45.

⁴ Agricola, 9.

⁶ Pliny, Letters, II. 1.

cruelty in the administration of his province, and their efforts were successful in securing the conviction of the accused.⁷ A recently discovered inscription seems to prove that at a later date Tacitus was proconsul of Asia. We know from his own writings that he was alive towards the end of Trajan's reign :⁸ whether he was still living when Hadrian succeeded is uncertain. Marcus Claudius Tacitus, Emperor of Rome in the third century, claimed to be descended from the great historian : and in the sixteenth century the inhabitants of Terni, formerly called Interamna, a town in Umbria, where he was supposed to have been born, set up a tomb in his memory ; but this tomb was subsequently destroyed by order of Pope Pius V., on the ground that Tacitus was an enemy of Christianity.

The period of Tacitus' greatest literary activity coincides with the reign of Trajan (A.D. 98-117), "a happy epoch," as he himself describes it, "in which a man may think what he pleases, and say what he thinks."⁹ The *Agricola* and the *Germania* were written at the beginning of Trajan's reign. The *Histories* were written before the *Annals*, as is shown by the reference to the earlier work in Book XI. chapter 11, of the *Annals*. That the *Annals* were written at the end of Trajan's reign, and before Hadrian, is proved by internal evidence. For in Book II. chapter 61, of the *Annals*, Tacitus says :—"Germanicus proceeded to Elephantine and Syene, formerly the boundary of the Roman Empire, which now extends to the Red Sea"; and similarly, in Book IV. chapter 4, he says that he proposes to repeat the summary given by Tiberius, "in order to show what forces Rome at this time"—*i.e.* in the reign of Tiberius—"possessed, what foreign kings were allied to her, and how much narrower were the limits of the Empire

⁷ Pliny, Letters, II. 10.

⁹ *Histories*, I. 1.

⁸ *Annals*, II. 61, and IV. 4 ; see also below.

than at the present day." These passages must have been written subsequently to Trajan's eastern campaigns of A.D. 114-116 and prior to the resignation of his predecessor's conquests by Hadrian.

No writer can entirely dissociate himself from his environment, and the events which Tacitus describes, the judgment which he passes upon them, and the conclusions which he draws from them, can be appreciated at their true value only when considered from the point of view of the environment in which he lived, and worked, and wrote. As we have seen, his early days were passed in the reigns of Nero, Galba, Otho, and Vitellius; and his public career extended through the reigns of Vespasian, Titus, Domitian, Nerva, and Trajan. Thus he lived under at least nine Emperors, some of the worst and some of the best that ever wore the Imperial purple. The memories of his childhood must have taken him back to the insane debaucheries of Nero and Nero's licentious court. In the prime of his life he must have witnessed with his own eyes the awful horrors of the reign of terror which was only ended by the death of Domitian, and trembled with apprehension of the fate which seemed continually to menace his beloved father-in-law. His later years were spent in the happier days of Nerva and Trajan. So far, then, as personal experience could assist him, Tacitus had the fullest opportunities of forming a sound opinion as to the good and the evil of Roman Imperialism.

Like most men of his time, and of his birth and training, Tacitus in theory regarded a republican form of government as ideally the best for a civilised community. But he was no mere doctrinaire: and it is very much to his credit, both as a man and a historian, that he recognised that the Empire was an inevitable, if an unpalatable, necessity. The debased conditions of the lower orders, whose aspirations were limited to a demand for "*panis et circenses*,"

and who looked back with regret even to Nero, because he had amused them and pandered to their ignoble tastes,¹⁰ and the decay and corruption of the Senate, of which Tacitus as a member of that order was painfully aware, convinced him that the restoration of the Republic was an impossibility.¹¹

As a practical man, therefore, Tacitus not only acquiesced in conditions which he knew could not be altered; he showed his contemporaries that it was their duty to take a part in the public affairs of the Empire, and even to be "as conspicuous as a man can be who lives under the shadow of Imperial pre-eminence,"¹² and he reminded them that they might, if they chose, "steer a middle course between an uncompromising contumacy and a humiliating servility, avoiding both the degradation of self-seeking and the perils of independence."¹³ He had little sympathy with the men who, because the conditions under which they lived were not in harmony with their own preconceived notions of Utopia, lived in sulky retirement, or in a spirit of vainglory and self-advertisement insisted upon martyring themselves in the cause of liberty, which their martyrdom could in no way advance.¹⁴ The spirit he admired was the spirit displayed by such men as Manius Lepidus, Lucius Piso, and Agricola.¹⁵ And what he commended in others, he exemplified in his own life. That the experience gained by him in his public career was of immense value to him as a historian is unquestionable. Certainly he so regarded it himself; and at the beginning of the *Histories* he mentions the exclusion from political life of the historians who wrote after the battle of Actium as one

¹⁰ *Histories*, I. 4.

¹¹ *cf.* *Annals*, I. 9; *Histories*, I. 1; I. 16; and II. 37, 38.

¹² *Annals*, XIV. 47.

¹³ *Annals*, IV. 20.

¹⁴ *cf.* *Agricola*, 42; *Histories*, IV. 6.

¹⁵ *Annals*, IV. 20; VI. 10; *Agricola*, 42.

of the causes which detract from the value of their work.¹⁶

Every reader of Tacitus must be impressed with the deep earnestness of purpose which permeates all his work. He wrote strongly because he felt strongly. He possessed to the full that "*saeva indignatio*" which will not permit a man to remain mute in the presence of wrong, and which compelled his contemporary, Juvenal, to castigate the follies and the vices of his age in his incomparable Satires. A great portion of his theme was in his eyes pure tragedy ; and we feel instinctively that he adapted his manner to his matter.

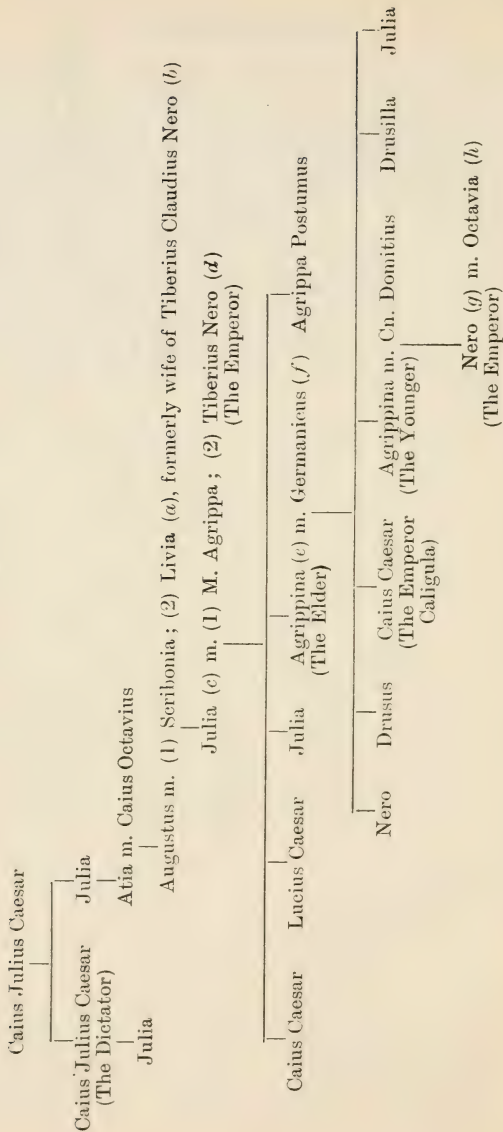
But if Tacitus saw much to condemn in the epoch of which he wrote, he was too acute an observer not to recognise and acknowledge the brighter side of the picture. His mind was too large, his judgment too sane, and his humanity too comprehensive for him to be blind to merit when it existed, even in a system of society to which he could not extend his approbation. And thus in a very remarkable passage,¹⁷ which at once indicates his sense of proportion and illustrates the spirit in which he regarded history, he says :—" Excellence in every direction is not the monopoly of antiquity : our own age has bequeathed much that is admirable, and much that is cultured and refined, to the imitation of posterity. May we always retain this honourable rivalry with our ancestors ! "

¹⁶ Histories, I. 1.

¹⁷ Annals, III. 55.

GENEALOGICAL TABLES

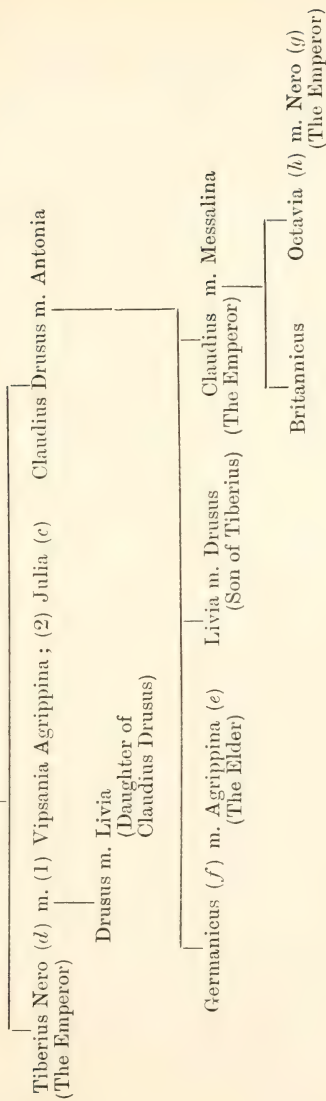
I



The letters (a), (b), (c), (d), (e), (f), (g), (h) are inserted for the purpose of identifying the persons so marked with the same persons, similarly marked, in Table II.

II

Livia (*a*) m. Tiberius Claudius Nero (*b*)



THE ANNALS OF TACITUS

BOOK I

A.D. 14-15

I. ROME in the beginning was governed by kings. Civil liberty and the consulship owed their origin to Lucius Brutus. The dictatorship was merely a political expedient designed to meet an emergency; the decemvirs were in power for a space of two years only; and the military tribunes did not long enjoy the consular authority with which they were temporarily invested. The despotisms of Cinna and Sulla were of brief duration. The power wielded for a time by Pompeius and Crassus was before long transferred to Caesar, and the military supremacy of Antonius and Lepidus passed into the hands of Augustus, who found the State exhausted by civil war, and governed it, nominally as "First Citizen,"¹ actually as Emperor. But the

¹ The word "Princeps," here translated as "First Citizen," was not originally an official title: it implied merely the first citizen in a free commonwealth, and therefore to a Roman ear it had not the same objectionable significance as the words meaning "King" or "Lord." Subsequently, however, it became the ordinary title by which the Roman Emperor was described; and it is the word which Tacitus commonly uses when speaking of the Emperor. The word "Imperator," from which of course the English word is derived, has in Latin a narrower significance, meaning, literally, the possessor of "imperium" or "power of command" with which the chief officers of State, whether civil or military, were invested. In the days of the Republic the title of "imperator" was given by acclamation on the field of battle to victorious generals by their troops. Augustus received this title twenty-one times for victories gained either in person or by his lieutenants (see Book I. ch. 9); and in Book II. ch. 18 we find it recorded that the army of

history of Ancient Rome, the records of its successes and reverses, have been written by famous historians; and there were writers of distinction fully qualified to do justice to the events of Augustus' reign until the ever-growing spirit of mere adulation paralysed their pens. The history of Tiberius and of Caius, of Claudius and of Nero, during the lives of these Emperors was distorted by terror, and after their deaths coloured by the hatred which survived them. It is my purpose therefore to relate a few incidents of the latter part of the reign of Augustus, and thereafter to deal with the reign of Tiberius

Germanicus saluted Tiberius as "imperator" after their victory over the Germans. In Book III. ch. 74 Tacitus tells us that Tiberius allowed Junius Blaesus to receive this title in recognition of his success against Tacfarinas. In that passage it will be seen that Tacitus states that the title had been granted in several cases by Augustus, and that it was now bestowed by Tiberius for the last time. With this exception, however, after B.C. 27 the title appears to have been confined to members of the imperial family. In Book I. ch. 3 Tacitus mentions that the title was given to Tiberius and to Drusus by Augustus, and in Book I. ch. 58 we find that Germanicus received it after his campaign in Germany.

The title of "imperator" in this sense, "*nomen imperatoris*," was always borne after the family name; and it is necessary to distinguish this from the "*praenomen imperatoris*" which became the first title of the Emperors, and was borne before their other names and titles. Prof. Pelham says that Julius Caesar adopted this title "to express the absolute and unlimited nature of the '*imperium*' he claimed, as distinct from the limited spheres of authority possessed by republican magistrates" (see Pelham's "*Outlines of Roman History*," pp. 150-1, 319, and 370). In the case of Julius the title appears to have been borne after the family name; but it was undoubtedly assumed as a "*praenomen*" by Augustus at an early date, and henceforth it remained the distinguishing title of the Emperors of Rome.

The full title of Augustus towards the end of his life is given in the following inscription (Orelli, 604), in which it will be observed both the "*praenomen imperatoris*" and the "*nomen imperatoris*" appear:—"Imp. Caesar, Divi F., Augustus, Pontif. Maxim., Cos. xiii., Imp. xx., Tribun. Potestat. xxxvii., P.P."

For a full account of the titles, etc., of the Emperor, see Mommsen "*Römisches Staatsrecht*," vol. ii., part 2; Prof. Pelham's article "*Princeps*" in *Dict. of Ant.*; and Furneaux's *Annals of Tacitus*, Introduction, pp. 75 *et seq.*

and subsequent events, without either prejudice or partiality — motives from which my mind is necessarily free.

II. The defeat and death of Brutus and Cassius² left the State, as such, without an army. Moreover, Sextus Pompeius had been crushed in Sicily,³ Lepidus had been stripped of his legions, Antonius had been slain,⁴ and even the Julian party had no leader remaining but Caesar. Caesar accordingly seized this opportunity to lay aside the title of triumvir and to come forward as consul, professing that his sole desire was to champion the cause of the proletariat through the agency of the tribunician power.⁵ Having won the hearts of the troops by his grants, of the populace by his doles, and of the State as a whole by bestowing upon it the luxury of peace, he began step by step to consolidate his power, and to draw into his own hands the functions of the Senate, of the magistrates, and of the legislature. He met with no opposition; for the most spirited of his rivals had fallen in battle or had been removed by proscription; and as for the rest of the nobles, riches and honours were showered upon them in proportion to their servility, with the result that, profiting by the new conditions, they came to prefer the security of the present to the dangers of the past. The provinces were ready enough to acquiesce in the new régime, for the feuds of the great party leaders and the cupidity of the officials had taught them to distrust the government of the Senate and People, now that they could no longer rely upon the protection of laws which violence, corruption, and bribery set at naught.

III. Augustus, moreover, strengthened his position by investing Claudius Marcellus, his sister's son, young though he was, with the offices of pontifex and curule aedile, and by conferring upon Marcus Agrippa (a man of humble origin, but a fine soldier and his comrade in victory) the honour of two successive consulships, and—after the death of Marcellus—the hand of his daughter. His step-sons, Tiberius Nero and Claudius Drusus, he dignified by the

² At the battle of Philippi, 42 B.C.

³ In 36 B.C.

⁴ 30 B.C.

⁵ See note on Book III. ch. 56.

title of "Imperator,"⁶ although death had not yet thinned the ranks of his own household. For he had adopted into the family of the Caesars Agrippa's two sons, Caius and Lucius, and, though they were still only boys, had made it abundantly plain, in spite of an assumed disposition to decline the honour, that his desire was that they should receive the title of "Princes of the Roman Youth" and be selected for the consulship. Both of them died prematurely some time after Agrippa's decease, Lucius Caesar on his way to join the army in Spain, and Caius on his way home from Armenia while suffering from the effects of a wound. Their deaths may have been due to natural causes: or they may have been due to the artifices of their step-mother Livia. As Drusus had died some years earlier, Nero⁷ was now the only surviving step-son. The current was setting strongly in his direction. He was adopted by Augustus as his son, made his colleague in the "imperium"⁸ and his partner in the tribunician power, and he was designated as his successor to the troops, not as before by the secret devices of his mother, but at her direct instigation. For Livia had by this time obtained such a complete hold over the aged Emperor that she prevailed upon him to banish to the island of Planasia his only grandson, Agrippa Postumus, who, in spite of his utter lack of refinement and of his stupid ferocity, inspired by the possession of mere physical strength, could not be convicted of any grave offence.

Augustus, for all that, gave the command of the eight legions on the Rhine to Drusus' son Germanicus, and compelled Tiberius to adopt him, although Tiberius had a son of his own now reaching manhood: his real object, however, was that the succession might be more firmly secured.

At this period the only war still proceeding was the war with the Germans, which was continued rather for the purpose of avenging the disgrace attending the loss of Quintilius Varus and his army⁹ than with the idea of extending the boundaries of the Empire, or with the pro-

⁶ See note to Book I. ch. 1.

⁸ See note to ch. 1.

⁷ *i.e.* Tiberius.

⁹ In A.D. 9.

spect of deriving any substantial results from its prosecution.

The state of domestic politics was peaceful. The names and forms of the ancient administration were preserved. The younger generation had arisen after the victory of Actium : of the older generation, the majority had been born during the period of the civil wars : only a scanty remnant had ever witnessed the days of the republic.

IV. So it came to pass that, under the changed political conditions, the spirit of the old régime disappeared. The principle of equality was banished ; the eyes of all were turned to a supreme authority, and waited for his commands. So long as Augustus was still in the vigour of his prime, so long as he kept his hold upon life, so long as he upheld the integrity of his house and maintained peace, there was no cause for apprehension. But when the Emperor became advanced in years and enfeebled in body, when the end was near at hand and the prospect of a change became imminent, there were a few who began to talk idly of the blessings of civil liberty ; there were many who grew apprehensive of, and others who looked forward to, war. A great number began to disparage their probable future rulers according to their several tastes. Agrippa, men said, was a man of truculent character, incensed by the indignities to which he had been subjected, and unfitted by reason of his youth and inexperience for the gigantic task of governing the Empire. Tiberius Nero was a man of mature years and tried in war, but he had inherited the ancient family pride of the Claudii, and signs of the cruelty of his disposition, though repressed, broke out upon many occasions. His earliest days had been spent within the walls of the ruling house, and, while still a young man, consulships and triumphs had been lavished upon him : but not even in the years which he had spent at Rhodes—nominally in retreat, actually in exile—could it be said that he had given his mind to anything but resentment, hypocrisy, and the indulgence of secret sensuality. There was, moreover, his mother's ungovernable temper to be reckoned with, and the probability that they would have to be subservient to a woman's will and to two young men

by whom the State would for a while be oppressed and eventually torn in pieces.

V. In the midst of these and similar discussions the Emperor's illness reached a critical stage, and in some quarters his wife was suspected of being the guilty cause. In point of fact a story had got abroad that a few months earlier Augustus, with the knowledge of only a few chosen friends and with Fabius Maximus as his only companion, had gone to Planasia to visit Agrippa; that the interview was of a tearful and affectionate character; and that it was expected that it would result in the young man's restoration to his grandfather's hearth and home. The secret, it was said, had been divulged by Maximus to his wife Marcia, and by her to Livia: this had come to Caesar's knowledge, and Maximus dying shortly afterwards—it was an open question whether he had not committed suicide—on the occasion of his funeral Marcia was heard lamenting and accusing herself of being the cause of her husband's death. Whatever may have been the truth of this story, Tiberius had scarcely set foot in Illyria before he was hastily summoned by a message from his mother; and it is uncertain whether on reaching Nola he found Augustus still alive, or whether the Emperor had already breathed his last. For Livia had set a strict watch over the house and its approaches, and reassuring bulletins were issued from time to time, until at the psychological moment it was reported simultaneously that Augustus was dead and that Tiberius had succeeded him.

VI. The new reign opened with the murder of Agrippa Postumus, who, though surprised and unarmed, was slain only after a desperate resistance by a centurion of considerable courage and resolution.

A.D. 14. Tiberius avoided any discussion of this event in the Senate, pretending that the responsibility rested with his father, who had given previous instructions to the tribune in charge of the prisoner to put Agrippa to death so soon as he himself had passed away. There is no question that Augustus had often bitterly complained of the young man's character, and had contrived to get his sentence of exile confirmed by decree of the

Senate. At the same time, he had never hardened his heart to the murder of any member of his own family, and it is incredible that he should have compassed the death of his own grandson in order to secure the position of his step-son. It is more probable that the fears of Tiberius and the enmity of Livia, who hated him with all a step-mother's hatred, were responsible for the hurried murder of a young man whom they regarded with envy and suspicion. When the centurion, in accordance with the military regulations, reported that he had carried out the orders he had received, Tiberius replied that he had given no directions and that the act must be accounted for to the Senate. This came to the ears of Sallustius Crispus who was in the conspiracy. He it was that had sent the despatch to the tribune. Whereupon, fearing that he might have to answer for the crime, and perceiving that both truth and fiction would be equally perilous for him, Sallustius set to work to persuade Livia that it was inadvisable that her domestic secrets, the counsels of her friends, and the services rendered her by the military, should be published to the world, and that Tiberius should not weaken the power of the Principate by referring every question to the Senate. It should be a maxim of imperial policy, he argued, that an account should be rendered to one man, and to one alone.

VII. The truth is that at Rome at this period the consuls, the Senate, and the equestrian order were all rapidly sinking into a condition of slavery. The higher men stood in the eyes of the world, the greater their eagerness to act a part. With set countenance, avoiding alike the appearance of delight on the occasion of an Emperor's death and of excessive grief at the opening of a new reign, they contrived to be at once joyful and tearful, sorrowful and sycophantic. The oath of allegiance to Tiberius was taken first by the consuls, Sextus Pompeius and Sextus Apuleius, and then, in their presence, by Seius Strabo and Caius Turranius, the former being the commander of the praetorian guards, and the latter the official in charge of the public corn-supply; after them came the Senate, the army, and the people. Tiberius indeed left the consuls to take the initiative in

everything, just as though the republic had been restored and he were doubtful about assuming sovereign power. Even the edict summoning the meeting of the Senate was only issued by virtue of the tribunician power which he had received under Augustus. The edict was brief and couched in the most moderate language. It intimated that he wished for their advice with regard to the honours to be accorded to his father, that he was remaining beside the body, and that the summoning of the Senate was the only public duty which he could bring himself to discharge. At the same time, on the death of Augustus, he had acted as "imperator" in giving the praetorian cohort their password: he had sentries, guards, and all the other appendages of a court around him: he was escorted by troops to the Forum and to the Senate: he sent despatches to the armies as though he had accepted the principate: and he showed no signs of hesitation except in his addresses to the Senate. The principal reason for this conduct must be sought in his dread lest Germanicus, controlling as he did so many legions and a vast number of the auxiliary troops drawn from the allies, and enjoying extraordinary popularity, might choose to seize, instead of waiting for, the principate. Moreover, he was not insensible to the verdict of public opinion, and therefore preferred that it should appear that he had been summoned and selected by the Senate rather than that he had crept into power through the agency of a woman's ambition and a dotard's adoption. It was subsequently recognised that his pretended hesitation was assumed for the purpose of ascertaining the secret inclinations of the nobles, for he hoarded in his heart every word or gesture which could be distorted into the semblance of an offence.

VIII. At the first meeting of the Senate he permitted no business to be transacted except such as was connected with the decease of Augustus. The will was brought in by the Vestal Virgins. By it Tiberius and Livia were left heirs-in-chief. Livia was to be adopted into the Julian family and to receive the title of "Augusta." As next heirs Augustus had appointed his grandsons and great-grandsons, and as heirs in the third degree some of the

leading men in the State, the majority of whom he had disliked but had included in a spirit of ostentation and from a desire to gain credit with posterity. His legacies in the main were not in excess of what a private citizen's might have been; the exceptions being a legacy of forty-three million five hundred thousand sesterces to the populace of Rome, one of a thousand sesterces to each praetorian, and one of three hundred sesterces to every soldier of the cohorts composed of Roman citizens.

A debate followed on the question of the honours to be accorded to the dead Emperor. The most striking proposals were those of Gallus Asinius, who moved that the funeral procession should pass through the Triumphal Arch, and of Lucius Arruntius, who moved that the titles of his statutes and the names of the races he had conquered should be carried in front of the bier. Messala Valerius was for adding that the oath of allegiance to Tiberius should be renewed annually; and, on being asked by Tiberius whether it was at his suggestion that he made that proposal, he replied that he had spoken with absolute spontaneity, and that on a question in which the State was concerned he would never follow any counsel but his own, even at the risk of giving offence. Affectation of this kind was the only form of flattery still unexhausted. The members with one voice demanded that the body should be carried to the funeral pyre on the shoulders of senators, but the Emperor, with contemptuous condescension, excused them. At the same time he issued a proclamation, reminding the people of the riotous scenes caused by their excessive zeal at the funeral of Julius, and desiring them therefore not to ask for the cremation of Augustus in the Forum rather than in the Campus Martius, the site proposed. On the day of the funeral troops were posted as guards, to the great derision of those who had seen with their own eyes or heard from their parents the story of that great day when slaves still new to slavery had striven in vain to be free once more—that great day when the assassination of Caesar seemed to some the most hideous of crimes, to others the noblest of deeds. What irony that on this occasion an

aged Emperor, who had reigned long and who had even provided resources for his heirs to use against the interests of the commonwealth, should be defended by a military guard in order that he might be buried in peace!

IX. By a natural transition Augustus himself became the general topic of conversation. This as a rule took the shape of expressions of astonishment at trivial coincidences, as, for instance, that the last day of his life fell on the anniversary of the day on which he first received the "imperium,"¹⁰ and that he had died at Nola in the same house and in the very bed in which his own father Octavius had passed away. People spoke also of the number of his consulships, which equalled those of Valerius Corvus and Caius Marius combined: of his having held the tribunician power for seven and thirty years without intermission: of his having received the title of "imperator"¹¹ twenty-one times: and of the various other dignities periodically renewed or specially created for him.

Those of a more serious turn praised or condemned his career from their various points of view. One party argued that filial piety and the necessities of the State, in which at that time constitutional procedure held no place, had driven him into civil war, which neither in its inception nor in its continuance can ever be conducted by very scrupulous methods. He had, it was urged, made many concessions to Antonius with the object of avenging his father's murder, and many concessions to Lepidus. When the latter had grown old and indolent, and the former had been ruined by his profligacy, the only remedy that could heal the wounds of the distracted country was the rule of one man. But instead of proclaiming himself, as he might have done, king or dictator, he had contented himself with establishing a constitutional form of government under the title of "princeps": he had made the Great Sea or distant rivers the boundaries of the Empire: he had organised the army, the provinces, and the fleet:

¹⁰ *i.e.* probably, the consular imperium. He was first elected consul on August 19, B.C. 26, and he died on August 19, A.D. 14.

¹¹ See note on Book I. ch. 1.

he had secured the citizens of Rome in their civil rights, and pursued a policy of moderation in his relations with the allies: he had made Rome itself beautiful by his magnificent public works: and if he had acted with some degree of violence in a few instances, it was for the sake of the general peace.

X. On the other side it was asserted that filial piety and political necessity were used merely to cloak his real designs: that in reality it was his lust for power that had driven him to bribe the veterans to follow his standard, to collect an army before reaching manhood or obtaining any official recognition, to seduce the consular legions, and to affect an interest in the future of the Pompeian party. His next step had been to possess himself, by means of a decree of the Senate, of the insignia and office of praetor. On the death of Hirtius and Pansa¹² (whether they were slain by the enemy, or whether Pansa's death was due to the poison applied to his wound, and Hirtius had been slaughtered by his own troops at the treacherous instigation of Caesar), he had seized the forces of both. He had extorted the consulship from a reluctant Senate, and turned against the republic the arms which had been given him to use against Antonius. He was responsible for the proscriptions of Roman citizens and for the breaking up of their estates, acts which even those who executed them could not justify. The deaths of Cassius and of the two Bruti might be attributed to the hostility they had shown towards his adopted father, although private enmity should yield to public duty: but at any rate Sextus Pompeius had been entrapped by a sham peace and Lepidus by a hypocritical assumption of friendship: finally Antonius, for a time cajoled by the treaties of Tarentum¹³ and Brundisium,¹⁴ and by his marriage to Augustus' sister, had paid by his death the price of this treacherous alliance. Peace no doubt succeeded these events, but it was a peace that was stained with blood—including the defeats of Lollius and Varus,¹⁵ and at Rome the executions of Varro,

¹² In 43 B.C.

¹³ 37 B.C.

¹⁴ 40 B.C.

¹⁵ Lollius was defeated by the Germans in B.C. 16, Varus in A.D. 9.

Egnatius, and Jullus.¹⁶ Even his private life was not spared : the story was told of his taking Nero's wife away from him, and of his farcical consultation of the priests on the point whether he could lawfully marry her while she was still pregnant ; of the gross luxury of Vedius Pollio ;¹⁷ and finally of Livia, that stern mother of the State, and stern step-mother of the house of the Caesars. There was no place, it was said, for the honours due to the gods, when Augustus coveted temples and statues proper to divinities, and priests and flamens to worship him. Even the adoption of Tiberius as his successor was not due to affection or genuine regard for the interests of the State ; but, having recognised the arrogant pride and cruel disposition of Tiberius, he had sought to glorify himself by the most odious contrast he could find. It is the fact that, a few years before, Augustus, when asking the Senate for the second time to invest Tiberius with the tribunician power, complimentary though his speech was, had thrown out certain hints about his habits, customs, and manner of life in such a way as to censure, under cover of excusing, them. However, after the formal completion of the obsequies, it was decreed that the departed Emperor should have a temple and be worshipped as a god.

XI. Tiberius now became the recipient of supplicatory addresses, to which he replied by pointing out various difficulties, such as the magnitude of the Empire and his want of confidence in his own powers. The mighty intellect of Augustus, he said, was alone equal to a task of such immensity : having been summoned by Augustus to take a share in his duties, he had learnt by experience how arduous, and how dependent on the caprices of fortune, was the burden of ruling the world. Wherefore, in a State which could count upon the services of so many illustrious men, he urged them not to leave everything to one : the business of government, he declared, could be discharged

¹⁶ Varro in B.C. 23 or 22, and Egnatius in B.C. 19 were put to death for conspiring against the life of Augustus. Jullus Antonius was forced to commit suicide in B.C. 2 owing to his adultery with Julia which was regarded as equivalent to high treason.

¹⁷ Vedius Pollio is said to have thrown live slaves into his fish-ponds to feed his lampreys.

with greater facility by a division of labour. Language such as this was more pretentious than honest. Even on occasions when he had nothing to hide, Tiberius, whether from nature or habit, was invariably ambiguous and enigmatical ; on this occasion, when he was striving to conceal his thoughts, his real meaning was more than ever shrouded in obscurity. But the senators, whose one fear was that they might appear to understand him, deplored, and wept, and entreated. They stretched forth their hands in supplication to the gods, to the image of Augustus, and to the knees of Tiberius. He gave orders for a document to be produced and read. This document was a register of the total resources of the State, the number of citizens and allies under arms, the number of the fleets, the subject-kingdoms and the provinces, the amount of the direct and indirect taxes, and an account of the necessary expenses and the largesses. The whole document was in the handwriting of Augustus, who, either in a spirit of genuine apprehension or out of jealousy of his successors, had added some advice as to the desirability of limiting the boundaries of the Empire.

XII. In the course of these proceedings, and while the Senate was demeaning itself by the most abject protestations, Tiberius remarked casually that though he did not feel equal to governing the whole of the State, he would undertake whatever part of the government might be entrusted to him. Thereupon Asinius Gallus said : " May I ask, Caesar, what part you would wish to be entrusted to you ? " Disconcerted by this unexpected question, he was silent for a few moments ; then recovering his composure he replied that it would not be consonant with his modesty either to choose or to avoid any part of that from which he would prefer to be entirely excused. Gallus, inferring from his looks that he had given offence, answered that his object in asking the question was not to apportion that which could not be divided, but to prove out of Tiberius' own mouth that as the State was one body, so it could only be governed by one mind. He concluded with a panegyric upon Augustus, and reminded Tiberius himself of his victories in war and of his long record of splendid

achievements in peace. He failed, however, by these means to mollify the irate Emperor; for Tiberius had long regarded him with dislike, and, owing to his marriage with Vipsania, the daughter of M. Agrippa and once the wife of Tiberius, suspected him of harbouring designs incompatible with the position of a private citizen and of perpetuating the haughty and independent spirit of his father Pollio Asinius.

XIII. Immediately afterwards Lucius Arruntius gave equally great offence by making a speech in terms very similar to those which Gallus had employed. Tiberius bore no ancient grudge against Arruntius; but being rich, keen-witted, accomplished, and correspondingly popular, he was regarded by the Emperor with suspicion. In fact Augustus, when discussing at the end of his life the character of those who would be qualified to fill the highest position in the State but would refuse it, or those who would wish to fill it but lacked the necessary capacity, or those again who possessed both the ability and the ambition, had remarked that Manius Lepidus, though capable, would reject it with contempt; that Gallus Asinius, though covetous of the position, was unequal to it; but that Lucius Arruntius was not unfitted and, if the opportunity offered, would not hesitate to seize it. There is a consensus of opinion as to the first two names, but one version substitutes Cn. Piso for L. Arruntius. All these men except Lepidus were before long made away with on various charges preferred against them at the instigation of Tiberius. Quintus Haterius too and Mamercus Scaurus irritated his suspicious temper, Haterius by saying: "How long, Caesar, will you suffer the State to remain without a head?" and Scaurus by observing that he found reason to hope that the prayers of the Senate would not be in vain in the fact that Tiberius had not exercised his right as a tribune to veto the proposal of the consuls. Haterius he at once attacked; Scaurus, against whom his anger was more implacable, he passed over in silence. Wearied at last by their clamour and by the expostulation of individual members, he gradually gave way, not to the extent of admitting that he undertook the imperial power, but so far as to abandon his former method of refusing, in order to

be implored to accept. It is common knowledge that Haterius, having gone to the Palace to sue for pardon, and having met Tiberius, who was walking, and thrown himself at his knees, narrowly escaped death at the hands of the Emperor's guards, owing to Tiberius tripping, either by accident or because Haterius, by clasping his knees, made him stumble. Yet in spite of the peril through which this man of rank and station had passed, Tiberius did not relent, until Haterius besought Augusta to intercede for him, and found safety at last in her earnest entreaties on his behalf.

XIV. Augusta too was the recipient of a large share in the adulation of the Senate, some of the members of which proposed that she should receive the title of "Parent," others that of "Mother of the Country," and several that the designation "Son of Julia" should be added to Caesar's name. The Emperor, however, repeatedly protested against the payment of such extravagant compliments to a woman, and undertook to observe a similar moderation with regard to any honours which might be offered to himself. Tormented by jealousy, he fancied that he detected in a woman's exaltation an intended slight upon himself. He therefore refused even to allow her the escort of a lictor, and forbade the erection of an altar¹⁸ to celebrate her adoption into the Julian family, and other similar honours. On the other hand he requested the Senate to confer proconsular powers on Germanicus Caesar, and sent his officers to invest Germanicus with his new dignity and at the same time to offer him his sympathies upon the death of Augustus. The reason why a similar request was not made on behalf of Drusus was that he was then consul-elect and present within the city.

Tiberius nominated twelve candidates for the praetorship, the traditional number nominated by Augustus, and though the Senate urged him to increase that number he pledged himself not to exceed it.

XV. This was the first occasion on which the elections¹⁹

¹⁸ Furneaux points out that altars were often erected as monuments by the Romans, without implying any act of worship.

¹⁹ Tacitus is evidently referring here to the elections of "praetors"—as to the elections of "consuls" in the reign of Tiberius, see ch. 81 below.

were transferred from the Campus Martius to the Senate. Up to this date, although all the most important appointments were in the imperial patronage, there were still a few which depended upon election by the people in their tribes. Some idle talk excepted, the people did not resent this invasion of their rights; and the Senate, relieved of the necessity of resorting to bribery and to abject solicitations, cheerfully accepted the change; while Tiberius restricted himself to the recommendation of four candidates, to be elected without submitting to the necessity of canvassing or to the possibility of defeat. Meanwhile the tribunes of the "plebs" requested permission to exhibit at their private expense the games which had now been inserted in the Calendar under the name of Augustales. A sum of money, however, was voted for the purpose from the public exchequer, and the tribunes, though allowed to wear the triumphal robe in the Circus, were not permitted to ride in a chariot. Shortly afterwards the production of these games was transferred to the praetor to whom was allotted the duty of dealing with cases in which foreigners were involved.

XVI. Such were the conditions prevailing at Rome when a mutiny broke out in the Pannonian legions. There was no special reason for this outbreak beyond the fact that a change of rulers appeared to offer an opportunity for creating a disturbance and to hold out a prospect of the profits to be derived from a civil war. Three legions were quartered together in their summer camp, under the command of Junius Blaesus, who, on hearing of the death of Augustus and of the succession of Tiberius, released the troops from their customary duties either as a sign of mourning or to celebrate the opening of a new reign. From this moment the men began to get out of hand. They commenced to quarrel with one another, to listen to the seditious utterances of agitators, to covet luxury and idleness, and to scorn discipline and toil. There happened to be in the camp a man named Percennius, at one time the leader of a theatrical clique, now a common soldier. This man possessed a ready tongue, and his training as a professional claqueur had taught him how to excite the

passions of a crowd. Step by step he worked upon the feelings of the ignorant soldiery, aided by the uncertainty which prevailed as to the future conditions of military service now that Augustus was dead, drawing the men into conversation at night or towards nightfall, and gathering all the worst characters round him when the better men had dispersed.

XVII. At last, finding that he could rely upon the support of other agitators besides himself, he addressed the men with the air of a general haranguing his troops. "Why," he asked, "should they render servile obedience to a mere handful of centurions or a still smaller number of tribunes? Would they ever venture to demand redress if they did not approach, with their petitions or with arms in their hands, a Prince whose unproved power was still trembling in the balance? Injury enough had they done themselves by years of passive submission to a system which condemned them to pass through thirty or forty campaigns until they were all old men, and most of them maimed and mutilated. Their discharge even did not bring their period of service to an end, as they were still retained with the colours and compelled to perform the same duties under another name. The few who survived all these trials and afflictions were dragged off to remote regions where, under the name of settlements, they were presented with marshy swamps or mountain wastes. As for the service itself, it was both irksome and unprofitable. Body and soul, they were valued at ten 'ases' a day: and out of this miserable pittance they had to buy their clothing, their arms, and their tents, bribe the brutal centurions, and purchase exemptions from duty. He called Heaven to witness that theirs was an everlasting round of blows and wounds, of the severities of winter or the toils of summer, of the horrors of war or the barren interludes of peace. The only possible relief lay in allowing them to enter the army on fixed conditions, under which they would receive pay at the rate of a 'denarius' a day, and complete their service at the end of sixteen years; after which they should not be retained with the colours, but should receive their pension, to be paid in cash in the camp in which they had

served. Were the praetorian cohorts," he asked, "who were paid two denarii, and who were restored to their homes after sixteen years' service, confronted with greater perils than themselves? They did not disparage the city guards; but he could not forget that he and his comrades had to pass their lives among savages with the enemy ever in sight of their tents."

XVIII. The mob, swayed by various motives, loudly applauded this speech, some indignantly exhibiting the marks of blows, others their grey hairs, and most of them their ragged clothing and naked bodies. Finally, in their frenzy, they proposed to incorporate the three legions in one. This suggestion was frustrated by their mutual jealousy, inasmuch as everyone contended for the priority of his own legion. They therefore resolved to adopt another plan, and piled the eagles of the three legions and the standards of the different cohorts together. At the same time they began to heap up turf and to construct a mound, in order to secure a more conspicuous central position. While they were feverishly engaged upon this work Blaesus arrived. He reproached them for their misconduct, and caught hold of one man after another, exclaiming, "Stain your hands in my life-blood sooner than this: the murder of your commander would be a less heinous crime than is your revolt from your Emperor. I will either live to maintain the loyalty of my legions, or they shall slay me that my death may accelerate their repentance."

XIX. In spite of his words they continued to pile up the mound until it was breast-high, when, overcome at last by his persistency, they relinquished their task. Blaesus, with considerable oratorical skill, thereupon addressed them. "Mutiny and disorder," he said, "were not the means by which to bring their wishes to the notice of Caesar: such novel demands had never been made of former commanders by the soldiers of the past, nor of Augustus by themselves: it was, moreover, most inopportune at this moment to add to the heavy weight of care which the Emperor had just begun to take upon himself. If, however, they were still bent upon attempting to obtain in time of peace concessions which they had not ventured to ask for even after

their victories in the civil wars, why should they resort to violence in defiance of the rules of obedience and the laws of discipline? What they should do was to appoint deputies and give them their instructions in his presence." They shouted their assent to this proposition, and demanded that the son of Blaesus, a tribune, should be entrusted with the mission, and that he should ask for the privilege of discharge after the completion of sixteen years' service. Their further instructions, they said, should be given him when the first had met with success. After the young tribune's departure calm was to some extent restored: but the troops prided themselves on the fact that, since their commander's son was to be their spokesman, it was abundantly clear that they had succeeded in extorting by force what they could not have obtained by more moderate methods.

XX. Meanwhile the companies which, before the mutiny began, had been sent to Nauportus to construct roads, bridges, and other military works, upon hearing the news of the disturbance in the camp, had torn up their standards, and sacked the neighbouring villages and even Nauportus itself, a settlement which was almost a town. When the centurions endeavoured to restrain them, they assailed them first with insult and vituperation, and finally with blows. The principal object of their fury was Aufidienus Rufus, the camp-commander. They dragged him from his chariot, loaded him with baggage, and made him march at the head of the column, asking him in jest whether he liked such heavy burdens and such long marches. This Rufus, who had been for a long time a private, then a centurion, and finally the camp-commander, had been attempting to revive the harsh discipline associated with the old régime. Inured to work and labour, his own rough experience only served to make him harsher in his treatment of others.

XXI. Upon the arrival of these troops the mutiny broke out afresh. Bands of stragglers overran and plundered the surrounding country. A few who had loaded themselves with a particularly large amount of booty were ordered by Blaesus to be flogged and put in irons. in order

to strike terror into the rest ; for even now the commander could still rely upon the obedience of the centurions and the best of the common soldiers. The prisoners struggled with their captors, caught hold of the bystanders by their knees, called upon men they knew by name, or upon the company in which they served, upon their cohort, or upon their legion, exclaiming that a like fate was in store for all. At the same time they heaped insults upon their commander, called Heaven and the gods to witness their treatment, and neglected no device by which they could excite the hatred and the pity, the fear and the anger, of their comrades. A mob collected from all quarters, broke into the prison, released the captives, and before long proceeded to fraternise with the deserters and the criminals who had been condemned to death.

XXII. After this the violence of the outbreak and the number of the ringleaders increased. A certain common soldier named Vibulenus was lifted up on the shoulders of the bystanders in front of the tribunal of Blaesus, and harangued the disorderly gathering which anxiously waited to see what he would do. " You," he said, " have indeed restored light and life to these innocent sufferers—but who can give my brother back his life, who can give my brother back to me ? He was sent to you by the army of Germany to deal with matters affecting our common interests, and last night he was murdered by the gladiators whom Blaesus keeps and arms for the destruction of his soldiers. Answer me, Blaesus, where have you cast out his corpse ? Even an enemy in war does not grudge the rights of burial. Let me first with tears and kisses give full vent to my grief, and then order me also to be slain. All I ask is, that when we have been slain, not because we have committed any crime, but simply because we have done our best to serve the cause of the legions, we may be buried by these my comrades."

XXIII. The excitement produced by these words was fanned into a blaze when he began to weep and to beat his breast and his face. Presently, thrusting aside those who had been supporting him on their shoulders, he flung himself at the feet of one after another of his friends, and

roused them to such a pitch of fury and indignation, that some seized and bound the gladiators who were Blaesus' slaves, some the rest of his slave establishment, while others rushed away to look for the body of the murdered man. Fortunately it soon became known that no corpse could be found, that the slaves, though subjected to torture, denied the murder, and that Vibulenus had never had a brother at all; otherwise the commander would hardly have escaped death at their hands. As it was, they drove out the tribunes and the camp-commander: they robbed the fugitives of their baggage: and they killed Lucilius, a centurion, whom with their soldiers' humour they had nicknamed "Give-me-another," because, when he had broken one rod over a man's back, he used to call in a loud voice for another and still another. The rest of the centurions sought refuge in hiding, with the exception of Clemens Julius, whom the men kept with them because they considered that his ready wit qualified him to convey their instructions to Tiberius. The eighth and fifteenth legions went so far as to draw swords upon one another, the former demanding the death of a centurion named "Sirpicus," and the fifteenth defending him; but the men of the ninth intervened with entreaties and, when these were rejected, with threats.

XXIV. On the receipt of this intelligence Tiberius, in spite of his secretiveness and his skill in concealing every disaster, felt compelled to dispatch his son Drusus with some eminent statesmen and two praetorian cohorts to the scene of the outbreak. Drusus received no precise instructions, but was charged to take such measures as the exigencies of the moment seemed to require. The cohorts were raised to more than their usual strength by the addition of a number of picked troops. A large body of the praetorian cavalry was also included in the force, together with the flower of the German troops who were at that time acting as the Emperor's body-guard. Aelius Sejanus, who was at this date commander of the praetorians, an office which he shared with his father Strabo, and who possessed great influence over Tiberius, accompanied the young prince in order to act as his adviser and to hold before the

eyes of the others the danger of disobedience and the rewards of loyalty.

When Drusus approached the camp, the legions, as though wishing to signify their respect, came out to meet him ; but, instead of the customary signs of joy and brilliant decorations, they presented a filthy and an unsightly appearance, while their looks expressed defiance rather than the sorrow which they counterfeited.

XXV. As soon as Drusus had entered the entrenchments the mutineers posted extra guards at the gates, and instructed bodies of armed men to wait at specified positions in the camp. The remainder crowded round the tribunal. Drusus stood erect and held up his hand for silence. Every time they cast their eyes upon their own vast numbers, they broke into a fierce uproar, but when they looked at Caesar they quailed : an inarticulate murmur was succeeded by angry shouts, and these again by a sudden hush : as their moods changed they were alternately terrifying or terrified. When at last there was a lull in the uproar, Drusus read them his father's letter, in which Tiberius had written that he was most solicitous for the welfare of the valiant legions with whom he had served in many a campaign : that as soon as he had recovered from his grief, he would bring their demands under the notice of the Senate : meanwhile he had sent his son with instructions to make at once such concessions as could be granted without delay : other matters must be reserved for the decision of the Senate, which was entitled to a voice in the granting of favours or the infliction of punishment.

XXVI. The crowd replied that Clemens had been entrusted with the task of conveying their instructions. Clemens accordingly formulated the following demands :—discharge after sixteen years' service, and a pension at the end of that period ; pay at the rate of a “denarius” a day ; and, finally, the stipulation that the veterans should not be retained with the colours. Drusus began to speak of waiting for the decision of the Senate and of his father, when he was interrupted by cries of dissent :—“Why had he come if he could neither increase their pay, nor lighten their labours, in fact without any power to ameliorate their

lot? Heaven knew, everyone had power to inflict blows and death upon them! Tiberius in the past had used the name of Augustus to cheat the legions of their desires, and now Drusus had resorted to the same sharp practice. Would none but minors ever come to visit them? It was absolutely without precedent that the Emperor should refer to the Senate questions affecting the interests of the troops. If that were to be so, then this same Senate should be consulted whenever an execution or a battle was decided upon. Were despots to control their rewards, their punishments to be inflicted without appeal?"

XXVII. Finally they left the tribunal, threatening every prætorian or adherent of Caesar whom they came across, with the intention of provoking a quarrel and starting a fight. The chief object of their fury was Cn. Lentulus who, by reason of his age and military reputation, was believed above all others to be strengthening Drusus' hands, and to be the foremost in expressing his disgust with the gross breaches of discipline of which they had been guilty. Shortly afterwards as he was leaving with Caesar, and, foreseeing the danger he was in, trying to regain the winter camp, they surrounded him and plied him with inquiries as to where he was going. "Was it to the Emperor, or to the Senate, that there too he might oppose the interests of the legions?" At the same moment they set upon him and stoned him. He had already been struck, he was bleeding from a blow, and his doom seemed inevitable, when he was rescued by the arrival on the scene of the force which had accompanied Drusus.

XXVIII. The awful terrors of the night threatened to culminate in an outburst of crime. A singular chance averted the catastrophe. In a perfectly clear sky the light of the moon suddenly seemed to fade away.²⁰ The soldiers, ignorant of the cause of this phenomenon, regarded it as an omen applicable to their own situation, likening the eclipse to the hardships which they had to endure, and promising themselves success in their undertaking in the event of the planet regaining its radiance and brilliancy.

²⁰ This eclipse occurred on the 26th September, A.D. 14, between 3 a.m. and 7 a.m.

They therefore raised a din by beating cymbals of brass and by blowing horns and trumpets together. As the light of the moon waxed or waned, their spirits rose or fell ; and when the clouds which had come up shut her out from their sight, and she seemed to be hidden in darkness, they were seized by those superstitious terrors which prey so readily upon minds that are already paralysed by fear ; and in their despair they imagined that this was a portent of a life of endless hardship and a mark of Heaven's displeasure. Caesar, resolving to turn this change of sentiment to account, and to make a prudent use of the opportunity which chance had offered him, ordered the tents to be visited. The centurion, Clemens, and such others as had acquired popularity with the rank and file by honest means, were sent for. These men went round to the patrols, to the pickets, and to the camp-guards, and put before them what they had to hope for or to fear. "How long," they asked, "are we to besiege the Emperor's son ? What is to be the end of all this strife ? Are we going to swear obedience to Percennius and Vibulenus ? Will Percennius and Vibulenus give us our pay and grant us lands on our discharge ? In fine, are they to take over the Empire of Rome and to oust such men as the Neros and the Drusi ? Why should we not rather, as we were the last to offend, be the first to repent ? Demands made in the general interest must necessarily be slow to obtain notice, but if you as individuals prove without delay that you are deserving of favour, you will without delay receive it." By working upon their feelings in this way, and by sowing the seeds of mutual distrust, they succeeded in detaching the recruits from the veterans, and one legion from another. Gradually the men's attachment to discipline returned : they left the gates, and the standards, which at the beginning of the mutiny had been collected in one spot, were restored to their rightful positions.

XXIX. At daybreak Drusus summoned the troops, and, with a natural dignity, which compensated for his lack of eloquence, condemned their past misdeeds and approved their present demeanour. Terrors and threats, he declared, left him unmoved ; but if he saw them submissive and found

them penitent, he would write to his father to be merciful and to accept the supplications of the legions. At their request Blaesus was sent for the second time to Tiberius, accompanied by L. Apronius, a Roman knight on the staff of Drusus, and Justus Catonius, a centurion of the first rank. After their departure there was a considerable divergence of opinion between the different members of Drusus' staff, some being in favour of waiting for the return of the delegates and of conciliating the troops in the interval, while others advocated the adoption of stronger measures. The latter urged that, inasmuch as a crowd is always extreme in its proclivities, terrible when it does not tremble, but when once overawed safely to be despised, the terrors of superstition under which it was still cowering should be supplemented by the dismay which the commander could engender by removing the leaders of the mutiny. Drusus, who was naturally inclined to severity, sent for Vibulenus and Percennius and ordered them to be put to death. According to the generally accepted account their bodies were secretly buried in the commander's quarters; by another account they were cast outside the entrenchments for all to see.

XXX. A search was then made for the principal mutineers. Some were found wandering about the country outside the camp, and were slain by the centurions or the men of the praetorian cohorts. Others were given up by their companies, who thereby guaranteed their own loyalty. The sufferings of the troops were augmented by the winter setting in at an unusually early date: the rain was incessant and so violent as to render it impossible for the men to leave their tents or assemble together: and they could scarcely protect the standards from the hurricane which threatened to sweep them away. Moreover they still dreaded the wrath of Heaven; for it was not without cause, they thought, that the stars grew pale and that tempests burst over their impious heads: the only remedy for their sufferings was for them to leave their present camp—a camp of ill-omen, and polluted by their crimes—and, having atoned for their guilt, to retire into their winter quarters. The eighth legion was the first to go,

and then the fifteenth. The ninth vehemently insisted upon waiting for a letter from Tiberius; but presently, finding themselves isolated by the departure of the others, they yielded of their own accord to the pressure of an inevitable necessity. Drusus, satisfied that the crisis had passed, departed for Rome without waiting for the return of the delegates.

XXXI. About the same time and for similar reasons the German legions revolted. But their numbers being greater, this outbreak proved more violent than the other. It was moreover fostered by the confident expectation that Germanicus would refuse to acknowledge the supremacy of another and would put himself in the hands of the legions, who would be strong enough to carry all before them.

There were two armies on the Rhine. One, known as the Upper Army, was commanded by the legate, C. Silius. The Lower Army was under the charge of A. Caecina. The commander-in-chief of the whole force was Germanicus, who was at this date occupied in conducting the assessment of the Gallic provinces. The troops under Silius were still irresolute and were waiting to see the outcome of the revolt of the other legions. The Lower Army threw themselves into the struggle with unbridled fury. The mutiny began in the twenty-first and fifth legions, the first and the twentieth being drawn into it subsequently. All these legions were quartered together in the same summer-camp on the Ubian frontier, and had been kept either idle or on light duty only. When news reached them of the death of Augustus, a large number of men who had been recently enlisted in the levy held at Rome, and who were imbued with the spirit of licence and dislike of labour, worked upon the feelings of their simple-minded comrades, urging that the opportunity had come to demand, for the veterans, an earlier discharge; for the younger troops, increased pay; and for them all, some mitigation of the hardships they had to undergo, and revenge for the brutality of the centurions. In this case it was not a single agitator, like Percennius in the Pannonian legions, who alone uttered these sentiments, nor were they addressed to the ears of trembling troops, anxiously regarding the stronger armies

which stood behind them. Here mutiny had many mouths and many voices. The destiny of Rome, they said, was in their hands : by their victories the State was glorified : from them members of the Imperial family took their names.

XXXII. Their commander made no effort to check the movement. The universal madness had robbed him of his presence of mind. In a sudden access of blind fury they drew their swords and attacked the centurions, the time-honoured object of the soldier's resentment and the first victims of his rage. They struck them to the ground and rained blows upon them, sixty men to one centurion, corresponding with the number of centurions in the legion. Then seizing their mangled, mutilated, and, in some cases, lifeless bodies, they flung them outside the entrenchments or into the Rhine. Septimius fled for refuge to the tribunal, and threw himself at the feet of Caecina ; but the men insisted upon his being given up to them, and Caecina was compelled to abandon him to his fate. Cassius Chaerea, afterwards notorious for the assassination of Caius Caesar,²¹ then a young man of great courage, cut his way through the crowd of armed men who tried in vain to stop him. Neither tribune, nor camp-commander retained any authority over them. The men themselves allotted the sentries and the pickets, and shared with one another all the other duties which the necessities of the moment seemed to require. Those who had made a more than ordinarily careful study of the temper of troops, recognised the cardinal symptom of a serious and obstinate revolt in the fact that, instead of the usual chaotic agitation, fomented by a mere handful of ringleaders, both their outbursts of fury and their relapses into silence were characterised by such unanimity and consistency of purpose that they might have been supposed to be acting under orders.

XXXIII. Meanwhile Germanicus, while occupied, as I have said, with conducting the assessment of the Gauls, received news of the death of Augustus. Germanicus was the husband of Agrippina, the granddaughter of Augustus, by whom he had many children. He himself was the son of Drusus,

²¹ *i.e.* the Emperor Caligula, who was murdered in A.D. 41.

the brother of Tiberius, and the grandson of Augusta, but he was persecuted by the secret hostility of his uncle and his grandmother—a hostility which was all the more bitter owing to the unworthy motives by which it was inspired. The memory of Drusus was very dear to the Roman people who had believed that, if the sovereignty ever passed into his hands, he would restore to them their civil liberty. Germanicus inherited his father's popularity and his father's reputation. His character was unassuming, and his amiable qualities presented a striking contrast to the arrogance and reserve which marked the conversation and the demeanour of Tiberius. The influence of feminine jealousy must also be taken into account. Livia persecuted Agrippina with a step-mother's bitterness, and Agrippina herself was by nature somewhat too impetuous, but her chastity and her love for her husband directed her stormy passions into a lawful channel.

XXXIV. His brilliant prospects, however, seemed only to urge Germanicus on to even more strenuous exertions on behalf of Tiberius. He had already taken the oath of allegiance to Tiberius, and compelled his comrades and the Belgian communities to do likewise, when he heard of the mutiny of the legions and set out in hot haste to the scene of the outbreak. The men met him outside the camp, with eyes downcast in feigned repentance for their misdeeds. When he entered the entrenchments he was greeted with confused murmurs. Some of the men seized his hands, and under pretence of kissing them put his fingers in their mouths so that he might feel their toothless gums ; while others showed him their bodies bent and bowed with age. They gathered round him in a disorderly crowd, but he ordered them to disperse and form into their companies ; they replied that they could hear better as they were ; he therefore bade them parade their standards, so that there might be at least one way of distinguishing the different cohorts. They obeyed him reluctantly. Commencing with a respectful reference to Augustus, he passed on to the victories and triumphs of Tiberius, particularly extolling his brilliant achievements at the head of these very legions in Germany. He then drew their attention to the

assent of Italy and the loyalty of the Gallic provinces, observing that nowhere had there been the slightest disturbance or dissension. These words were received in silence or with suppressed murmurs.

XXXV. When he came to the subject of the mutiny and asked them what had become of the spirit of military obedience and of their time-honoured discipline, and where they had driven their tribunes and centurions, they one and all bared their bodies and pointed indignantly to the scars of their wounds and the marks left by blows. Then, in an uproar in which it was impossible to distinguish one voice from another, they proceeded to attack the system of trafficking in exemptions, the scantiness of their pay, and the severity of the tasks set them, enumerating in detail the palisade, the trenches, the collection of forage, timber, and fuel, and all the other work which they were required to perform, either as a necessary part of military service, or merely to counteract the idleness of a camp life. The fiercest clamour came from the veterans, who reminded him that they had thirty years or more of service to their account, and implored him to relieve their weariness, and, instead of letting them die in the midst of their labours, to bring their term of oppressive service to an end and to allow them at last to rest in peace, but without poverty. Some even claimed the legacy left them by Augustus, and at the same time wished Germanicus success and offered him their services should he wish to make himself Emperor. At this he leapt precipitately from the tribunal, as though his honour were being sullied by the suggestion of a crime. The men, however, prevented his departure, barring his way with their swords, and threatening him with violence if he did not return. He cried that he would rather die than abandon his loyalty, drew a sword from his side, and raised it aloft to plunge it into his heart, but those nearest him seized his hand and restrained him by main force. A knot of men on the outskirts of the crowd, and, incredible as it may appear, even a few individual men who came nearer to him, exhorted him to strike; and a soldier named Calusidius offered him his drawn sword, saying it was sharper than his own. Mad with rage though they

were, this seemed to them a cruel and inhuman action, and there was a pause which Caesar's friends utilised to hurry him into his tent, where a consultation was held as to the best means of dealing with the situation.

XXXVI. The crisis was acute, for news was brought that the mutineers were preparing to send a deputation to the Upper Army in order to attach them to their cause: that they had resolved on the destruction of the town of the Ubii: and that, having once dipped their hands in pillage, they would break from all restraint and ravage the Gallic provinces. A further cause for alarm lay in the fact that the enemy were aware of the mutiny in the Roman camp and would be certain to invade the province if the river-bank were left unguarded. To arm the auxiliaries and the allies against the mutinous legions meant civil war. Severity would be dangerous, concessions would be criminal: whether the troops were granted everything or nothing, the State would be in equal peril in either case. Every suggestion having been carefully considered, it was decided that despatches should be written in the Emperor's name promising complete discharge after twenty years' service; after sixteen years' service, retirement to the reserve with no other duties except those of repelling the enemy; and the payment in double of the legacies they had asked for.

XXXVII. The soldiers, suspecting that this was merely a ruse to gain time, demanded the immediate fulfilment of the promises. Discharges were promptly arranged by the tribunes: but it was proposed to postpone payment of the grants until the troops had gone into their respective winter quarters. The men of the fifth and twenty-first legions refused to move until they were paid on the spot, in their summer-camp, out of the private moneys which Caesar's friends and Caesar himself had brought with them to defray their personal expenses. The legate Caecina led the first and the twentieth legions back to the territory of the Ubii. The march was a disgraceful exhibition, the money bags which they had plundered from their commander being carried between the standards and the eagles. Germanicus went to the Upper Army and made the troops take the oath of allegiance. The second, thirteenth, and

sixteenth legions obeyed without a moment's hesitation. The fourteenth wavered ; but the money and the discharge were granted them without their insisting upon it.

XXXVIII. In the territory of the Chauci a threatened revolt among the veteran reserves of the mutinous legions, who were employed there on garrison duty, was checked by the prompt execution of two soldiers. The order for their execution was given by Manius Ennius the camp-commander, and, irregular though his action was, it served as a salutary warning. When the storm gathered he was obliged to flee ; but he was discovered ; and as his hiding-place was no longer secure he sought refuge in boldness. He told them that it was not their camp-commander, but Germanicus their general and Tiberius their Emperor, to whom they were offering violence. At the same moment, intimidating those who attempted to resist him, he seized the standard and turned it towards the river-bank ; then, declaring that he would treat any man who left the ranks as a deserter, he marched them into their winter quarters, still rebellious in heart but afraid to disobey.

XXXIX. Meanwhile the envoys sent by the Senate had found Germanicus at the Altar of the Ubii, whither he had returned. Two legions, the first and the twentieth, and the veterans who had recently been retired into the reserve, were wintering there. Terrified and conscience-stricken, they were seized by the fear that the envoys had come with instructions from the Senate to annul the concessions extorted by their mutiny. With the usual desire of a crowd to discover a culprit, however baseless the charge against him, they accused Munatius Plancus, an ex-consul and the chief of the mission, of being the author of the Senate's decree. At the dead of night they began clamouring for the standard which had been set up in Caesar's quarters. The crowd gathered at his gate and burst open the doors. Germanicus was forced to get out of bed and to give up the standard to them under menace of death. Then, as they were wandering about the camp paths, they met the envoys who had heard the tumult and were hurrying to Germanicus. The soldiers assailed them with insults, and were on the point of murdering them and Plancus in particular. as his

sense of dignity made him hesitate to take refuge in flight. In the extremity of his peril, the only place where safety lay was in the camp of the first legion. He sought sanctuary there by embracing the ensigns and the eagles, but had not Calpurnius, the standard-bearer, intervened at the eleventh hour to protect him from the violence of his assailants, a crime of rare occurrence even among the enemies of Rome would have been perpetrated, and the altars of the gods would have been polluted by the blood of a Roman envoy in a Roman camp. When at last the light of day made it possible to distinguish the general and his soldiers and to realise the deeds that had been done in the darkness, Germanicus entered the camp, gave orders for Plancus to be brought to him, and placed him beside himself on the tribunal. He then proceeded to upbraid the men for this recrudescence of madness and outrage, which he described as some fatality and attributed, not to the anger of the soldiers, but to the wrath of Heaven. Then he explained the purpose of the envoys' mission. With considerable eloquence he deplored the violation of the rights of an embassy, the harsh and undeserved treatment of Plancus, and the disgrace which the legions had incurred; and having awed, rather than calmed, the feelings of the crowd, he sent the envoys off under an escort of auxiliary cavalry.

XL. In the general alarm created by these events Germanicus was universally censured for not going at once to the Upper Army where he could have found obedience and assistance against the rebels. Discharges, gifts of money, and weak measures generally had, so it was said, done mischief enough: nay, more than enough. If he held his own life so cheap, why should he leave his little son and pregnant wife to the mercy of an infuriated mob which outraged every human law? He should restore them at all events to their grandsire and to the State. As a matter of fact his wife scorned flight, protesting that the blood of Augustus ran in her veins and that in the face of danger she would prove herself not unworthy of her descent. But after much hesitation Germanicus at last tearfully embraced her and the child of their union and forced her to depart.

A pitiable band of women moved slowly out of the camp—the general's wife a fugitive, carrying her little son in her arms, and surrounded by the weeping ladies of her suite tearing themselves reluctantly from their husbands' embraces. No less sad and sorrowful were those they left behind.

XLI. This pathetic spectacle, which might have been looked for in a conquered city, seemed strangely out of place as an incident in the life of a proud Caesar and in his own camp. The wails and lamentations of the women reached the ears of the soldiers themselves. They came out of their tents, asking, "what was this sound of weeping? what was the meaning of this sorry sight? women of high rank, and not a centurion or a soldier to protect them! the general's wife without her usual retinue or any marks of distinction! these ladies seeking refuge with the Treveri, mere foreign allies!" Remorse and pity seized them. They thought of her father Agrippa, of Augustus her grandfather. Was she not the daughter-in-law of Drusus? Was she not a mother of many sons, a woman whose chastity was renowned? Nay! had she not given birth to a son in their camp, and brought him up in the tents of the legions—the little boy whom in their soldier's language they called Caligula, because he used to wear the common soldier's boots, to win the affections of the men? But nothing moved them so deeply as their jealousy of the Treveri. They threw themselves in front of Agrippina, beseeching her to return and stay with them; and while some of them were endeavouring to stop her, the greater number went back to find Germanicus. With grief and anger still fresh in his heart he addressed the crowd which surrounded him in the following words:—

XLII. "My wife and my son are not more dear to me than my father and the State; but his own majesty can protect him, and other armies the Roman Empire. My wife and my children, whom I would willingly sacrifice for your glory, I am now putting out of the reach of your fury, in order that, whatever crime you may threaten to commit, I may be the only victim, and that you may not add to your guilt the slaughter of a great-grandson of

Augustus and the murder of a daughter-in-law of Tiberius. For during these last few days what crime have you not dared to commit, what principle have you not profaned? What name shall I give to this assemblage? Am I to call you soldiers, you who have beleaguered and besieged your Emperor's son? or citizens, you who have spurned the authority of the Senate? You have violated the rules of war, the sanctity of an envoy, even the law of nations. Julius once checked a mutiny with a single word, by addressing those who would have renounced their oath of allegiance to him as 'Citizens.' Augustus awed the legions at Actium by a mere glance. I do not pretend to be already their equal, but I am descended from them, and it would be both strange and disgraceful if even the armies of Spain or of Syria were to show me disrespect. You, the first legion, who received your standards from Tiberius; you, the twentieth, who fought so many battles with him and received such rewards from his hands, what splendid gratitude you are showing to your general! Shall I be the bearer of these tidings to my father, when he is hearing nothing but good news from the other provinces, that his own recruits, his own veterans are not satisfied with the terms of discharge which have been granted to them, and the money which has been given to them: that here, and here alone, centurions are being murdered, tribunes are being driven out, and envoys treated as prisoners: that the camp and the river are flowing with blood: and that my own life is threatened by an angry mob?

XLIII. "Why, my friends, why, in your blindness, on the first day that I addressed you, did you wrench from my hands the weapon which I was about to plunge into my heart? He who offered me his sword was doing me a better and a kinder service. I should then at least have perished without the knowledge of my army's many crimes: you would have chosen another leader who, though he might have left my death unpunished, would at any rate have avenged the massacre of Varus and his three legions. For I pray that Heaven may not permit the Belgians, in spite of their proffered services, to usurp the honour and the glory, which should be yours, of having retrieved the

fair fame of Rome and crushed the tribes of Germany. May thy spirit, O blessed Augustus, in its heavenly abode, may the memory of thy dear face, O Drusus, my father, graven on the hearts of these same soldiers of thine, who once again can feel the agony of remorse and the spur of glory, help them to wash away this stain upon their honour, and to transmute the wrath they have harboured against their own countrymen into an instrument of destruction to be used against our common foe. And you, in whose faces and in whose hearts I see the change which has come over you, if you mean to restore to the Senate the envoys they sent you, to the Emperor the obedience you owe him, and to me my wife and child, rid yourselves of contagion and purge your ranks of the mutinous. That will be a sign of the reality of your repentance and a pledge for your future loyalty."

XLIV. Moved by these words, they prayed for forgiveness, acknowledging the truth of his reproaches; and they besought him to punish the guilty, pardon the erring, and lead them against the enemy. They entreated him to recall his wife and to permit the nursling of the legions to return to them, instead of handing him over like a hostage to the Gauls. Germanicus made his wife's expected confinement and the approach of winter an excuse for Agrippina not returning; but he promised that his son should come: everything else he left to them.

They dispersed in a very different mood, and hurried off to find the ringleaders of the revolt, whom they dragged in chains before C. Caetronius, the commander of the first legion. Caetronius submitted each of them in turn to trial and condemnation in the following fashion. The legions stood in front of the tribunal with drawn swords; the accused was placed on a platform, and a tribune directed the attention of the troops to his case; if they shouted that he was guilty, he was hurled down and instantly despatched. The soldiers rejoiced in the slaughter, believing that they were thus absolving themselves; and Caesar, perceiving that, as he had given no orders, so the odium attaching to this exhibition of barbarity would recoil upon its authors, made no attempt to restrain them.

The example they set was followed by the veterans, who were soon afterwards sent to Rhaetia, under pretext of defending the province from a threatened incursion of the Suevi, but with the real object of removing them from a camp which the violence of the retribution, no less than the memory of the crime, had filled with sinister associations. Germanicus next reviewed the centurions. At the summons of the general each of them stated his name, his rank, his birthplace, the number of his campaigns, his exploits in battle, and his military rewards, if he had received any. Those whose good services and integrity were attested by the tribunes and the legions, were allowed to retain their rank: any who were by general consent charged with rapacity or cruelty were dismissed the service.

XLV. In such manner was this outbreak quelled. But the obstinate disaffection of the fifth and twenty-first legions, who were in winter quarters sixty miles away at a place called Old Camp, presented an equally troublesome problem which had still to be solved. These legions had been the first to mutiny: every possible excess had been committed by them: the punishment of their fellow-soldiers failed to frighten them: the repentance of their comrades left them unmoved and with their anger unabated. Caesar therefore prepared to send an army down the Rhine accompanied by a fleet of ships and the allied troops, resolved, if they refused to submit to his authority, to make war upon them.

XLVI. At Rome the issue of the troubles in Illyria was still unknown when the rising of the legions in Germany was reported. The city was thrown into a panic and attacked Tiberius, complaining that while he was amusing himself by cheating the Senate and the people, who were unarmed and impotent, with a fictitious reluctance to assume his actual position, the troops were in open mutiny and could not be reduced to submission by the immature authority of two striplings. Tiberius, they urged, should have gone himself to the legions and brought the whole weight of his imperial majesty to bear against men who would inevitably yield, when they saw before them their Sovereign with his long years of experience and his ab-

solute power to dispense rewards and punishments. If Augustus, though worn with age, could travel again and again into Germany, could Tiberius in the vigour of his prime only sit at home, twisting into treason the speeches of the senators? Enough had been done to secure the slavery of Rome: it was time to soothe the temper of the troops and persuade them to consent to peace.

XLVII. Recriminations such as these failed to influence Tiberius or in any way to shake his resolution on no account to leave the Capital and imperil his own safety or the safety of the State. Indeed the difficulties with which he was confronted were as diverse as they were numerous. If the German army was the stronger, the Pannonian was the nearer: the former was supported by the resources of Gaul, but the latter threatened the frontier of Italy: to which then should he give the preference? and was there not a danger that those whom he visited last would be enraged by such an affront? On the other hand, by the agency of his sons, both could be visited at once without any diminution of the imperial dignity, to which distance would lend greater respect. Besides, the younger men would have an excuse for referring particular questions to their father, and resistance to Germanicus and Drusus could still be minimised or crushed by himself; whereas what resort would be left if the malcontents once defied the Emperor? Tiberius, however, selected his suite, collected his commissariat, and equipped his ships, as though he intended to set out at any moment; and then he proceeded to invent various excuses, such as the winter or the pressure of business, for delaying his departure, and thus deluded at first even the shrewdest observers, the populace still longer, and the provinces longest of all.

XLVIII. Meanwhile Germanicus had mobilised his army and made every preparation to take vengeance on the rebels. He resolved, however, to give them a respite in the hope that they might profit by the example recently shown them. He therefore sent a despatch to Caecina, intimating that he was on his way with a powerful force and threatening to put them to the sword, one and all without discrimination, unless they forestalled him by the execution

of the wrongdoers. Caecina read this despatch secretly to the ensigns and standard-bearers and to all whose loyalty was above suspicion, and exhorted them to save the whole army from dishonour and themselves from destruction, reminding them that in time of peace motives and past services can be taken into consideration, but that under the shadow of war the innocent and the guilty alike share a common doom. They accordingly approached all whom they considered suitable for this purpose; and having satisfied themselves that the fidelity of the greater part of the legions was to be relied upon, at the suggestion of the commander, they fixed a time for making an onslaught upon the guiltiest and the most desperate of the mutineers. Then, at a given signal pre-arranged between them, they burst into the tents and massacred their unsuspecting victims without anyone except those in the conspiracy knowing how the slaughter began or ended.

XLIX. This incident differed in its characteristics from every other conflict which has ever occurred in civil warfare. In the present instance, instead of a pitched battle and instead of men advancing into action from opposite camps, the combatants issued from the same tents, in which they had taken their meals together by day and in which they had slept together by night, separated into two parties, and with sword and steel fell upon their former comrades. Clamour, wounds, bloodshed; so much was obvious: but the cause of it all was shrouded in obscurity, and all else was at the mercy of chance. Some of the loyalists too were slain, when the worst of the rebels, discovering who were the objects of this savage attack, had also seized their weapons. Neither commander nor tribune intervened to check them by his presence, and the rank and file were allowed free licence to wreak their vengeance until they were satiated. Germanicus entered the camp shortly afterwards, and exclaiming with tears in his eyes that this was destruction, not remedy, ordered the corpses to be cremated.

The troops, still thirsting for blood, were seized with a desire to march against the enemy and thus expiate their past madness. By no other means, they said, could they

appease the souls of their fallen comrades than by exposing their guilty breasts to the honourable scars of war. Caesar, responding to the eagerness of his men, threw a bridge across the river and sent over to the other side 12,000 of the legionaries with twenty-six cohorts and eight squadrons of cavalry selected from the allied troops, whose behaviour throughout the mutiny had been irreproachable.

L. The German forces, which were not far off, had been rejoicing in the impunity which they had been allowed during the inaction in which our troops had been kept, first by the mourning for the death of Augustus, and subsequently by the mutinies. The Roman army made a forced march through the Caesian Forest,²² pierced the barrier, the construction of which had been commenced by Tiberius, and encamped on this barrier, protected on the front and rear by entrenchments, and on the flanks by piles of timber. Their way then led through dense woods, and a council of war was held on the choice of two alternative routes, the shorter of the two being that usually taken, the other presenting more obstacles and hitherto unattempted, but for that very reason left unguarded by the enemy. The longer route was chosen, but the rapidity of the advance was accelerated: for the scouts had reported that the ensuing night was a German festival which would be celebrated with the customary feasting and rejoicing. Caecina was ordered in advance with the cohorts of light troops to clear a way through the woods: the legions followed a short distance behind. Fortunately for the Romans the night was bright and the stars were shining. They reached the village of the Marsi and surrounded the enemy, who were still stretched on their beds or near their tables, feeling so secure from attack that they had neglected to post any pickets in front of their position. So incautious

²² The topography of this and the succeeding campaign of Germanicus is exceedingly obscure. Furneaux says:—"It seems then hardly possible to go beyond the likelihood that the Romans may have advanced, probably from Vetria, along the left bank of the Lippe, and then struck southward through a comparatively unknown country towards the Upper Ruhe, and that the tribes living north of the Lippe endeavoured to intercept their retreat."

were they that everything was in total confusion. They were untroubled by any fear of war; but it was not so much peace, as the careless lethargy of drunken men, which was at the root of their imprudence.

LI. In order that the work of destruction might be more complete, Caesar divided the eager legions into four columns. The whole country for a distance of fifty miles was given over to fire and sword. Neither sex nor age was spared. Houses and sacred buildings, including the most celebrated temple of this country called the Temple of Tamfana, were razed to the ground. Our soldiers did not count a wound among them, for the men they slew were half-asleep, unarmed, or mere stragglers. This massacre roused the Bructeri, the Tubantes, and the Usipetes, who beset the woods through which the army had to return. The general, knowing this, made his dispositions accordingly, and was prepared to fight at any moment on the march. A portion of the cavalry with the auxiliary cohorts was in the van, followed by the first legion: the baggage-train occupied the centre, the twenty-first legion forming the left flank, and the fifth, the right: the twentieth legion, followed by the rest of the allied troops, brought up the rear. The enemy waited quietly until the column was passing through the woods in extended order, then, making a feint upon the front and the flanks, fell with their whole force upon the rear-guard. The light cohorts were being thrown into confusion by the dense hordes of Germans when Germanicus rode up to the twentieth legion, and in a loud voice shouted that this was their opportunity for wiping out the infamy of the mutiny; he therefore bade them advance and hasten to transmute their dishonour into glory. On fire with eagerness, with one charge they broke through the enemy, hurled them back into the open country, and cut them to pieces. At the same moment the vanguard extricated itself from the woods and threw up entrenchments. The march after this was without further incident; and the troops, relying on their recent achievements and forgetting their past misdeeds, were established in their winter quarters.

LII. This news both delighted and disquieted Tiberius.

He rejoiced in the suppression of the mutiny ; but he was annoyed at the popularity which Germanicus had won with the troops, by distributing gratuities among them and by granting them the earlier discharge for which they had asked, and at the reputation which he had acquired by his conduct of the war. Nevertheless he brought his exploits under the notice of the Senate and eulogised his character in a long speech, which, however, was so elaborate and artificial that it was impossible to believe that it was the genuine expression of his inmost thoughts. He commended Drusus and the happy conclusion of the Illyrian outbreak in fewer words but with greater earnestness and sincerity ; and all the concessions given by Germanicus he extended to the Pannonian forces.

LIII. In the same year Julia died. She had been banished by her father Augustus on account of her profligacy, and kept a prisoner, first in the island of Pandateria, and subsequently in Rhegium on the straits of Sicily. She had been married to Tiberius in the lifetime of Caius and Lucius Caesar, and had treated him as beneath her. This indeed was the principal cause of his retirement to Rhodes. In exile and in disgrace, the murder of Postumus Agrippa robbed her of her last hope ; and Tiberius contrived that she should die a lingering death from destitution, believing that after her long years of absence her death would pass unheeded. There was a similar reason for the ruthless severity which he displayed towards Sempronius Gracchus, a man of noble lineage, shrewd intellect, and misdirected eloquence, who had seduced this same Julia when she was the wife of Marcus Agrippa. The intrigue did not end here. When Julia was handed over to Tiberius, her persistent lover inflamed her feelings of disrespect and hatred towards her new husband : and a letter which Julia wrote to her father Augustus, full of abuse of Tiberius, was believed to have been drafted by Gracchus. He was accordingly banished to Cercina, an island off the African coast, where he passed fourteen years in exile. The soldiers who were sent to put him to death found him on a cliff in a state of deep dejection. Upon their arrival he requested a brief respite in which to write his last instructions to his wife

Alliaria, and then offered his neck to the executioners, meeting death with a courage worthy of the Sempronian name which his life had dishonoured. According to one account the soldiers were sent, not from Rome, but by L. Asprenas, pro-consul of Africa, at the instance of Tiberius, who vainly hoped that the odium attaching to the murder would be diverted from himself to Asprenas.

LIV. The same year witnessed the institution of new religious ceremonies by the addition of the Augustal college to the other priestly orders²³—an historical parallel to the foundation by Titus Tatius of the Tatian college for the preservation of the Sabine rites. Twenty-one members of the college were chosen by lot from the most eminent men in the State, and Tiberius, Drusus, Claudius, and Germanicus were added to the number. The Augustal games, which now for the first time became a fixed institution, produced a disturbance originating in a quarrel between rival actors. Augustus had countenanced such entertainments to oblige Maecenas, who was infatuated with Bathyllus, and he himself had no distaste for such pursuits; besides which he thought it citizen-like to associate himself with the pleasures of the vulgar. The disposition of Tiberius was entirely different; but as yet he did not venture to impose any restrictions on the populace after so many years of indulgence.

LV. In the consulship of Drusus Caesar and Caius Norbanus, Germanicus was voted a triumph, although the war was not yet concluded. He had been making
A.D. 15. preparations for a vigorous summer campaign, but at the beginning of spring he precipitated the renewal of hostilities by a sudden raid against the Chatti. For the conviction had been gaining ground that the enemy would probably split into two factions under Arminius and Segestes respectively, the one celebrated for his treachery, the other for his loyalty, to us. Arminius was the champion of German resistance: Segestes on many occasions warned the Romans of the imminence of revolt, and especially at that last famous banquet which preceded the outbreak of war, when he

²³ See Dict

urged Varus to seize all the chiefs, including Arminius and himself, arguing that if their leaders were taken from them the people would not venture to make any move, and that Varus would then have an opportunity to discriminate between the innocent and the guilty. But Fate and Arminius prevailed, and Varus fell. Segestes, though drawn into the war by the unanimity of his nation, was still irreconcilable, Arminius having aggravated the personal feud between them by carrying off his daughter, although she was betrothed to another. Segestes therefore had good reason to dislike his son-in-law ; and a relationship, which is a bond of affection where harmony prevails, only added fuel to the anger of bitter foes.

LVI. Germanicus accordingly placed Caccina in command of four legions, 5000 auxiliary troops, and some hastily levied irregulars raised from among the Germans living on the Roman side of the Rhine ; while he himself took command of an equal number of legions, and of double the number of allied troops. Having pitched his camp on the remains of his father's fort on Mount Taunus, he made a sudden dash upon the Chatti, leaving L. Apronius to carry out the necessary works on the roads and over the rivers. For the drought, which was exceptional for that climate, and the consequent lowness of the streams enabled him to make a forced march, unimpeded by any obstacle ; but it was feared that his return might be retarded by rains and by the rising of the rivers. However, he fell upon the Chatti so suddenly that all whose age or sex rendered them defenceless were at once captured or slain. The fighting men swam across the river Adrana, and endeavoured to frustrate the efforts of the Romans to bridge it. When they were eventually driven off by our machines and archers, they offered terms of peace, which, however, were not accepted ; whereupon some of them fled to Germanicus, and the rest abandoned their cantons and villages and dispersed into the forest. Caesar burnt Mattium, their principal town, devastated the open country, and then turned back towards the Rhine, the enemy not venturing to harass his retirement in accordance with their usual tactics when their own retreat is due, not

to panic, but to stratagem. The Cherusci were at one time disposed to come to the assistance of the Chatti, but Caccina overawed them by marching and counter-marching through their territory; and he also successfully repulsed the Marsi who ventured to engage him.

LVII. Shortly afterwards envoys arrived from Segestes asking for assistance against his countrymen by whom he was being besieged, Arminius having acquired still greater influence over them by advocating the war: for in a low state of civilisation reckless audacity inspires confidence and in troubled times is credited with strength. Segestes had included his son, Segimundus, among the envoys, but the young man's guilty conscience made him hesitate to accompany the mission. In fact the year the Germans revolted he had been made a priest at the Altar of the Ubii, but had broken his sacred chaplets and fled to the rebels. He was, however, induced to rely upon the clemency of the Romans, and conveyed his father's message. He was kindly received and sent with an escort to the Gallic bank of the river.

Germanicus thought it was worth his while to turn back. He engaged the besieging forces and rescued Segestes with a great number of his kinsfolk and clansmen. In this number were some women of high rank, including the wife of Arminius who, as I have said, was also the daughter of Segestes; though in her character she resembled her husband rather than her father. Though now a captive, without a tear, without a word of supplication, she crossed her hands over her breast and kept her eyes fixed upon the signs of her approaching motherhood. The spoils which had been taken after the defeat of Varus, and which most of those who now surrendered had received as their share of the booty, were also brought in.

LVIII. Among the captives was Segestes himself, a man of mighty stature, confident in the consciousness of his unswerving loyalty. He addressed Germanicus in the following words:—"This is not the first occasion on which I have demonstrated my consistent good faith towards the Roman people. Ever since Augustus presented me with the gift of citizenship, the desire to consult your ad-

vantage has guided me in the selection of my friends and foes : nor have I been actuated by disloyalty to my own country (for traitors are detested even by those whom they serve) but by the conviction that the interests of Rome and of Germany are identical, and by my studied preference for peace instead of war. These are the reasons why Arminius, the man who stole my daughter from me, the man who broke faith with you, was arraigned by me before Varus, who was then in command of your forces. Disappointed by the indifference of your general, and recognising that there was little to be hoped for from an appeal to the laws, I begged and prayed him to make prisoners of myself as well as of Arminius and his accomplices. My witness is that night of horror ! would it had been my last ! What followed we may deplore, but we cannot excuse. Still you must remember that I have put Arminius in chains, and that I have suffered the same treatment at the hands of his adherents. And now, on the first occasion on which I have audience of you, I seize the opportunity to declare my preference for the old over the new régime, for peace over disorder ; not with any hope of reward, but merely in order to absolve myself from the suspicion of treachery : and I offer my services as a suitable mediator between you and the German people, if they resolve to follow the path of repentance rather than that which will lead them to destruction. For my son's youthful folly I crave pardon : my daughter, I admit, has been brought here only by constraint. It is for you to decide which is to prevail—the consideration that she is the mother of Arminius' unborn child or that she is my own flesh and blood."

Caesar answered him kindly, promising that his children and relations should go unharmed and that he himself should be settled in the Old Province. He then led the army back ; and, at the instance of Tiberius, received the title of "Imperator."²⁴ The wife of Arminius subsequently gave birth to a boy, who was brought up at Ravenna. How he eventually became the sport of fate, I will narrate in due course.

²⁴ See note on Book I. ch. 1.

LIX. The report of the submission of Segestes and of the gracious reception accorded to him was widely disseminated, and was hailed with feelings of hope or despair corresponding with the dislike of, or desire for, war entertained by those who heard it. The seizure of his wife, and the prospect of his child being born in slavery, maddened the naturally violent temper of Arminius. He rushed hither and thither amongst the Cherusci, summoning them to arms against Segestes and against Caesar. He was unsparing in invective. "What a noble father," he said, "what a mighty general, what a dauntless army, whose united strength has sufficed to carry off one poor woman! He at least had overwhelmed three legions with their three commanders. He made war, not treacherously and upon pregnant women, but openly and upon armed men. In the groves of Germany they might still see the Roman standards which he had hung up and consecrated to the gods of his fatherland. Segestes might dwell on the side of the river which the Romans had conquered, and make his son a priest of the enemy's gods; true Germans would never quite forgive themselves for allowing the Roman rods, the Roman axes, and the Roman toga to appear between the Elbe and the Rhine. Other nations, that knew not Rome and the Roman rule, recked not of punishments, thought not of tributes. Having thrown off these burdens, having sent home empty-handed the great Augustus of whom Rome had made a god, and the great Tiberius whom Rome had chosen as her Emperor, surely they were not going to tremble in the presence of an inexperienced stripling and a mutinous army. If they preferred their own country, their own parents, their own time-honoured rights, to strange masters with their intrusive colonies, let them follow Arminius, who would lead them to glory and liberty, rather than Segestes, who would lead them into slavery and disgrace."

LX. Fired by these words, not only the Cherusci, but the neighbouring tribes also, flocked to his standard; and Inguiomerus, the uncle of Arminius, a man whom the Romans had long held in high repute, was also drawn into the movement. This increased Caesar's alarm. To prevent

the whole weight of the war falling upon a single point, he despatched Caecina with forty Roman cohorts through the country of the Bructeri to the river Amisia, with the object of drawing off the enemy : Pedo led the cavalry who were under his command to the Frisian borders : Caesar himself put four legions on board ship and took them through the lakes.²⁵ The infantry, the cavalry, and the fleet all concentrated at the aforesaid river. The Chauci offered their assistance and were allowed to serve with our troops. The Bructeri, who were burning their own villages, were routed by L. Stertinius and a flying column detached for the purpose by Germanicus ; and while his force was slaying and plundering, Stertinius recovered the eagle of the nineteenth legion which had been lost with Varus. The army then advanced to the extreme limits of the territory of the Bructeri and laid waste all the land lying between the rivers Amisia and Lupia, not far from the forest of Teutoburgium, in which the remains of Varus and his legions were reported to be lying unburied.

LXI. Caesar accordingly conceived the desire of paying his last respects to these soldiers and their commander ; and the whole force which accompanied him was deeply moved by thoughts of the relatives and friends whom they had lost, and by inevitable reflections upon war's calamities and human fate. Caecina having been sent forward to explore the depths of the forest and to construct causeways over the bogs and treacherous soil, the army entered this gloomy region, sinister both by nature and association. The first camp of Varus, by the extent of ground it covered and by the dimensions of the space occupied by the headquarters, demonstrated the handiwork of the three legions. Further on, a half-ruined entrenchment and a shallow ditch afforded evidence that an already shattered remnant of the force had taken up a position upon this spot. In the middle of the plain the bleaching bones lay scattered or in heaps, indicating the places where the troops had fled or rallied. Hard by were their broken weapons, the skeletons of their horses, and human heads hung on the tree-trunks. In the neighbouring groves were the barbarian altars at

²⁵ Now the Zuider Zee.

which the Germans had slaughtered the tribunes and the centurions of the first rank. The survivors of the disaster, who had escaped either from the battle or from captivity, related how the legates had fallen here, and the eagles had been captured there : they showed the spot where Varus was first wounded, and where the unfortunate general sought death by his own hand : they pointed out the platform from which Arminius had harangued his forces : they told of all the gibbets for the captives and the ditches in which they were buried alive : and they narrated how Arminius had mocked and insulted the standards and the eagles.

LXII. And thus the Roman army, which now visited the scene six years after the disaster, buried the bones of the three legions in sorrow and in anger, hardening their hearts against the foe, knowing not whether they were consigning to the earth the remains of a relative or of a stranger, but regarding them all as bound to them by ties of blood and friendship. Caesar laid the first sod of the mound which they constructed, thereby gratifying the troops by this mark of respect to the dead and associating himself with the sorrow of the living. Tiberius disapproved of these proceedings, either because it was his habit to put a wrong construction upon everything which Germanicus did, or because he thought that the army would go into battle with their spirits damped by the sight of their dead and unburied comrades and in greater fear of the foe, and that a general who had been sanctified by the augury and by the most time-honoured ceremonies ought not to have defiled himself by contact with funeral rites.

LXIII. Arminius retired into the wilds closely followed by Germanicus, who at the first opportunity ordered his cavalry to advance and dislodge the enemy from the plain which they had occupied. Arminius, having instructed his forces to close in and keep near the forest, suddenly wheeled round and immediately gave the signal to the men whom he had concealed in the woods to rush out. The unexpected onslaught of this new force threw our cavalry into disorder, and the cohorts which were sent to support them were broken by the weight of the routed

squadrons and added to the confusion. They were on the point of being hurled back into a marsh, well known to the enemy, but likely to prove disastrous to our men who were ignorant of its existence, when Caesar advanced his legions in order of battle. This move alarmed the enemy and restored confidence to our troops; and both armies retired without either side gaining a decisive advantage. The Roman army was then led back to the Amisia, and the legions were taken back, as they had been brought, by the fleet. A portion of the cavalry had orders to make for the Rhine along the coast. Caecina, in command of his own division, was warned, although he was to return by a well-known route, to cross the Long Bridges with all possible speed. These Long Bridges were a narrow causeway running between vast marshes, and had been constructed in the past by L. Domitius. They were surrounded on every side by swamps, deep tenacious quagmires, and treacherous hidden streams. Encircling the marshes, on a gentle incline, were some woods, which Arminius had by this time filled with his troops; for he had succeeded by means of short cuts and rapid marches in outstripping our soldiers, who laboured under the burden of their baggage and arms. Caecina, finding himself confronted with the problem of having to restore the bridges which had been destroyed by age and, simultaneously, to repel the attacks of the enemy, decided to pitch his camp on the spot and to set some of his men to work at the bridges while the others were fighting.

LXIV. The natives, making every effort to break through the outposts and to fall upon the working parties, attacked unceasingly both in front and on the rear. The shouts of those who were working mingled with the shouts of the combatants. The conditions were all against the Romans. The position they occupied was little more than deep ooze, not firm enough to give a sure footing and too slippery for any forward movement: they were burdened with the weight of their breastplates: and, standing in the water, they were unable to aim their javelins with precision. The Cherusci on the other hand were accustomed to fighting in the marshes, and their long limbs and huge spears enabled

them to strike with effect even from a distance. Night at last rescued the wavering legions from disaster. The Germans, rendered indefatigable by success and refusing even now to take any rest, diverted all the streams issuing from the surrounding heights into the valley beneath, with the result that the ground was flooded, all the work which had been completed was destroyed, and the labour of our troops was doubled. This, however, was the fortieth campaign in which Caecina had served either as a subordinate or in command, and he had had a varied experience of both the good and the evil fortunes of war. He was therefore undismayed. After considering every eventuality, he came to the conclusion that his only chance was to contain the enemy within the woods while the wounded and the heavier portion of his column went ahead. Between the hills and the marshes there stretched a narrow neck of land, just wide enough to allow the army to take up its position there in extended formation. To the fifth legion was assigned the right flank, to the twenty-first the left; the first were to form the vanguard, and the twentieth to repel attacks on the rear.

LXV. That night there was no rest on either side. The natives feasted and made merry, filling the valleys beneath them and the echoing woods with songs of joy or fierce cries. In the Roman lines the watch-fires flickered feebly, shouts were heard at intervals, and the men might be seen everywhere leaning against the entrenchments or wandering aimlessly from tent to tent, rather through inability to sleep than owing to excessive vigilance. The commander's rest was broken by a terrible dream: he imagined that he saw Quintilius Varus, weltering in gore, emerge from the marshes, and that he heard him calling to him, but that, instead of following, he thrust aside the hand which Varus stretched out to him.

At daybreak the legions forming the flanks, either from panic or in a spirit of mutiny, deserted their post and hastily seized a position beyond the marsh. Arminius, although there was nothing to impede his onslaught, did not immediately hurl himself upon them. He waited until he saw their baggage stuck in the mud and the trenches, the troops

thrown into confusion, the standards in disorder, and, as usually happens in such a crisis, every man thinking only of his own safety and deaf to the words of command. Then he ordered the Germans to charge, shouting: "Lo! another Varus! once more has Fate delivered the legions into our hands." With these words he cut his way through the column with some picked warriors, stabbing and wounding the horses rather than the men. The poor brutes, floundering in their own blood or in the slippery marsh, threw their riders, galloped over all who stood in their way, and trampled the fallen men under their hoofs. The fiercest struggle took place round the eagles, which could neither be advanced against the storm of spears nor planted in the swampy ground. Caecina, while endeavouring to rally the column, had his horse wounded under him and was all but surrounded, but the first legion headed off the enemy. The cupidity of the foe, who ceased to slay in their eagerness for plunder, was in our favour; and as evening drew on the legions fought their way to firm open ground. But even now their trials were not at an end. They had to throw up entrenchments and collect materials for the earthworks: most of the tools used for digging up the earth or cutting the turf had been lost: the companies had no tents to shelter them, and there were no medical appliances for the wounded. As they divided among themselves the food which mire and blood had fouled, they bewailed the darkness, which seemed pregnant with doom, and the hard fate which decreed that for so many thousands of living men the next day should be the last.

LXVI. It chanced that a horse, which had broken from its tether and was wandering at large, took fright at the shouting and knocked over some men who came in its way. This incident created a panic, the men imagining that the Germans had broken in; and there was a general rush to the camp-gates. Most of the troops made for the postern because it was on the opposite side to the enemy, and so safer as a means of flight. Caecina, having ascertained that the panic was groundless, but being unable to stop or arrest the troops by word of command, by entreaties, or even by force, threw himself down in the gateway and at

length, by appealing to their pity, since they would have been obliged to pass over their commander's body, succeeded in closing their path. At the same moment the tribunes and centurions managed to convince them that their fears were unfounded.

LXVII. The commander then assembled the troops at his headquarters and bidding them listen in silence expounded his views upon the crisis and the action demanded by it. Their sole hope of safety, he said, lay in their arms, but the use of their arms must be guided by prudence: they must remain within the entrenchments until the enemy, in the hope of storming them, came to close quarters; then they must make a sortie from every side, and by means of that sortie reach the Rhine. If they attempted flight they would only find more forests, deeper swamps, and a savage foe still confronting them; but should they be victorious, what honour and glory they would achieve! He reminded them of all the ties of home affections, and of all their honourable exploits on active service: of defeat and disaster he said not a word. Then taking the horses of all the legates and tribunes, beginning with his own, he handed them over with absolute impartiality to the bravest of his soldiers, that these might first charge the enemy, followed by the others on foot.

LXVIII. Hope, cupidity, and the conflicting counsels of their leaders rendered the Germansequally restless. Arminius advised them to allow the Romans to leave their position, and then to surround them again on swampy and difficult ground. Inguiomerus favoured more vigorous measures which appealed to the minds of these savages. He urged them to lay siege to the entrenchments, saying that it would be an easy task to storm them and that, by so doing, they would be enabled to secure a greater number of captives and to seize their booty before it could be damaged. At daybreak accordingly they levelled the trenches, threw hurdles across them, and began to scale the top of the palisade, our men showing themselves only here and there and apparently paralysed by fear. But as soon as the enemy were entangled in the entrenchments, the signal was given to the cohorts, and the horns and trumpets

sounded. Then raising a shout the Romans charged, taking the Germans in the rear, and crying : “ Here there are neither forests nor marshes, but a fair field and no favour.” The enemy, looking for an easy prey and expecting to find only a handful of half-armed men, were stunned by the blare of trumpets and the flash of arms, and their consternation was all the greater because such a reception was totally unlooked for. They were cut down, as disconcerted by disaster as they had been impetuous in success. Arminius fled the field unhurt, Inguimerus after being severely wounded ; the slaughter of their men continued until the anger of our troops and the daylight failed. When at nightfall the legions at length returned from the pursuit, although their wounds were now more numerous, and although they still suffered from the same scarcity of food, victory had brought them strength, health, and plenty, for victory meant all these and more to them.

LXIX. Meanwhile a rumour had spread that the army had been cut off, and that the Germans were marching on the Gallie provinces ; and had not Agrippina prevented the destruction of the bridge over the Rhine, there were those whose terror would have prompted them to perpetrate that crime. But this brave woman took upon herself during these days the functions of a general, and distributed medicines and clothing to all the soldiers who were wounded or in want. Caius Plinius, the historian of the German wars, relates that she stood at the entrance to the bridge giving praise and thanks to the returning legions. This made a deep impression upon Tiberius, who suspected that such solicitude was not entirely disinterested, and that it was not for the purpose of fighting some external foe that she thus courted the favour of the army. “ What,” he asked, “ was left for the commanders to do, when a woman inspected the companies, visited the standards, and experimented in the distribution of largesses ? As if she had not gone far enough in her quest for popularity by carrying the general’s son about in a private’s uniform and by desiring a Caesar to be called Caligula ! Agrippina was already a greater power in the army than legates or com-

manders : a woman had quelled a mutiny which the Emperor's authority could not check !” The resentment of Tiberius was inflamed and aggravated by Sejanus, who, with his intimate knowledge of the temper of the Emperor, sowed the seeds of a hatred which Tiberius might store up and reproduce with interest at some future date.

LXX. Germanicus handed over two of the legions which he had brought up by sea, the second and the fourteenth, to P. Vitellius, and directed him to march them back by land, his object being to lighten his fleet so that it might sail more safely through the shallow sea and take the shore more easily at the ebb. Vitellius at first proceeded without difficulty, as he was marching over dry ground or along a shore where the tide came gently in. But before long it began to blow hard from the north ; the equinoctial gales, during which the sea runs at its highest, set in ; and the army was overtaken by the fury of the storm. All the land was flooded : sea, shore, and fields presented a uniform aspect, and it was impossible to distinguish treacherous from firm ground, or shallows from deep water. The men were carried off their feet by the waves and sucked under in the trough : beasts of burden, baggage, and dead bodies floated about in the water and were dashed against them. The companies lost their separate formation and became inextricably confused. At one moment they were up to their chests, at another up to their necks, in the water. Sometimes the ground gave way beneath their feet, and they were swept away or engulfed by the waves. No words of command, no shouts of mutual encouragement were of any avail against the force of the waters : courage or cowardice, prudence or rashness, caution or blind chance, all were alike : the waves swallowed up everything with indiscriminate violence. At length Vitellius, having struggled up to some higher ground, got his column up to the same spot. There they spent the night without any of the necessaries of life, without fire, many of them naked or maimed, in as sorry a plight as if they had been surrounded by the enemy. For in that case they might at least as a last resource have sought and found an honourable death, whereas here their only prospect was an in-

glorious destruction. Dry land, however, reappeared with the daylight, and they succeeded in making their way to the river where Caesar had gone with the fleet. The legions were then re-embarked; but meanwhile a rumour had spread that they had been drowned, and people refused to believe in the report of their safety until they actually saw Caesar and his army return.

LXXI. By this time Stertinius, who had been sent to receive the submission of Segimerus, the brother of Segestes, had brought the chief and his son to the canton of the Ubii. Pardon was granted to them both, but to the son only after some hesitation, because he was reported to have insulted the body of Quintilius Varus.

The Gallic provinces, the Spanish provinces, and Italy vied with one another in repairing the losses sustained by the army, each offering what they could most readily supply, arms, horses, or gold. Germanicus eulogised their zeal, but would only accept arms and horses for purposes of war. He relieved the troops out of his own private means. Hoping, too, that by kindness he could rob the memory of their disasters of its bitterness, he visited the wounded and praised the exploits of individual men: and, while examining their wounds, he encouraged some by hopes of promotion, others by the thought of the glory they had achieved, one and all by kind words and attentions which confirmed their devotion to him and their readiness to fight again for the Empire.

LXXII. In this year triumphal insignia²⁶ were voted to A. Caecina, L. Apronius, and C. Silius in recognition of their services in the campaigns under Germanicus. Tiberius refused the title of "Father of the Fatherland"²⁷ which the people had on several occasions tried to force on him; and although the Senate passed a resolution to the effect that the oath to support his acts and ordi-

²⁶ *i.e.* the dignity and insignia of a triumph but not the actual celebration, which was now restricted to members of the imperial family.

²⁷ A complimentary title bestowed upon Cicero in B.C. 63, after the suppression of the conspiracy of Catilino; upon Julius in B.C. 45; and formally upon Augustus in B.C. 2.

nances²⁸ should be taken, he declined the honour, and talked sententiously about the chances and changes of this mortal life, saying that the higher he climbed the more insecure would be his foothold.

All this, however, did not delude people into believing that he had no aspirations beyond those of an ordinary citizen; for he had revived the law of treason. This law in the past, though it bore the same title, took cognisance of a different class of offences, for instance, offences against the army such as treachery, offences against the Commons such as conspiracy, and lastly offences against the State generally such as mal-administration of public affairs: acts alone were condemned, words went unpunished. Augustus was the first to extend the application of this law, by a strained interpretation of it, to libel; having been provoked to take this step by the insolence of Cassius Severus, who had written some scandalous lampoons defaming men and women of high position. Tiberius, in his turn, on being consulted by the praetor Pompeius Macer as to whether trials for treason were to take place, replied that the laws must be enforced. He also had been irritated by the publication of some anonymous verses satirising his cruelty and arrogance and his quarrels with his mother.

LXXIII. In this connection it may not be out of place to refer to the cases of Falanius and Rubrius, two unpretentious Roman knights, and the charges which were trumped up against them; for these cases illustrate the subtlety with which Tiberius introduced the germs of a fell disease which crept into the life of the State, which was then for a time checked, and which ultimately returned with renewed vigour and poisoned the whole social system.

Falanius was accused by an informer of having selected a certain Cassius, a pantomimist of infamous habits, as one of the votaries of Augustus who were now to be found form-

²⁸ Under the Republic the magistrates in entering upon office took an oath to observe the laws. Under the Empire, senators, as well as magistrates, took the oath to observe the acts and ordinances of the reigning Emperor and of all his predecessors who were not specially excluded.

ing a kind of priestly college in every household, and further with having included a statue of Augustus among the articles comprised in a sale of some gardens. Rubrius was charged with having desecrated the divinity of Augustus by breaking an oath taken in his name. When these charges were brought to the notice of Tiberius, he wrote to the consuls that his father had not been deified with the object of rendering the honour bestowed upon him a means for the destruction of citizens of Rome: that the actor Cassius used to take part, among others of the same profession, in the games which his mother had instituted in memory of Augustus: that it was no offence against religion to include his effigy, like the statues of other divinities, in a sale of gardens or house property: and, finally, that the charge of perjury must be treated in exactly the same way as the breaking of an oath to Jupiter: offences against the gods would be dealt with by the gods.

LXXIV. Not long afterwards Granius Marcellus, the praetor of Bithynia, was accused of treason by his own quaestor Caepio Crispinus, the charge being supported by Romanus Hispo. Crispinus founded a trade which, owing to the miseries of the times and the shameless audacity of the men who lived in them, became at a later date exceedingly popular. A needy, obscure adventurer, by means of stealthy libels he first wormed his way into the confidence of the ruthless prince, and then made himself a menace to the most illustrious of his contemporaries; thereby winning influence over one man but the universal hatred of all others, and setting an example, by following which, men rose from beggary to affluence, and from being objects of scorn to being objects of apprehension, bringing ruin upon others and last of all upon themselves. The charge he brought against Marcellus was that of having slandered Tiberius: a charge impossible to rebut, inasmuch as the informer took all the worst points in the Emperor's character and put them into the mouth of the accused; and, as the statements were indisputable, it was for that very reason readily believed that they had been actually made. Hispo, in addition, alleged that a statue of Marcellus had been placed in a superior position to the

statues of the Caesars, and that a bust of Tiberius had been set on the top of another statue from which the head of Augustus had been removed. At this the Emperor's smouldering anger burst into a blaze, and, breaking his customary silence, he declared that he too would give his vote on the matter before them, and that openly and on oath,²⁹ his object being to compel the rest to do the same. But even now there lingered some traces of the liberty that was fast fading away. For, thereupon, Cn. Piso said: "Caesar, in what order will you vote? If you vote first, I shall have an example to follow; but if you vote last of all, I fear that I may in error differ from you." Impressed by this remark, Tiberius made amends for his unguarded outburst by a display of forbearance, and voted for the acquittal of the accused on the charge of treason. The further charge of extortion was referred to the special commission.³⁰

LXXV. Not content with taking part in the judicial proceedings of the Senate, Tiberius also attended the law-courts, taking a seat at the corner of the tribunal to avoid displacing the praetor from the official chair; and many decisions were given in his presence, which had the effect of putting down corruption and checking the intervention of persons of influence. The cause of truth, however, triumphed only at the expense of liberty.

Among other cases may be mentioned that of Pius Aurelius, a Senator who complained that the construction of a public road and an aqueduct had caused the subsidence of his house and appealed to the Senate for redress. As the praetors of the Treasury resisted the claim, Caesar came to the rescue and paid Aurelius the price of his house; for he was always ready to spend money for a good purpose, a virtue which he retained long after he had discarded all others. He also made a present of 1,000,000 sesterces³¹ to Propertius Celer, an ex-praetor who asked for permission

²⁹ The Senators only took the oath when voting on special occasions, such as the more important trials.

³⁰ See Dict. "Recuperatores."

³¹ 1,000,000 sesterces was the property qualification fixed by Augustus for admission to the Senate.

to resign his rank on the score of poverty, having first satisfied himself that this lack of means was hereditary. When other members made a similar attempt, he bade them prove their case to the Senate, his love for severity making him harsh in his methods even when his actions were strictly correct. The result was that all the rest preferred silence and poverty to disclosure and consequent relief.

LXXVI. In the same year the Tiber, swollen by the continuous rains, overflowed its banks and flooded the low-lying quarters of the city, and when the river subsided considerable destruction of life and property ensued. Asinius Gallus proposed that the Sibylline books should be consulted; but Tiberius, an obscurantist in religion and politics alike, opposed the suggestion. Ateius Capito and Lucius Arruntius, however, were commissioned to inquire and report upon the best means of preventing the inundations of the river.

Achaea and Macedonia petitioned for relief of taxation, and it was resolved that for the present they should be released from proconsular, and transferred to imperial, government.

The gladiatorial show, presented in his own name and in that of his brother Germanicus, was presided over by Drusus, who took an excessive delight in bloodshed, even though it were only the blood of slaves. This trait in his character rendered him an object of popular terror, and his father was credited with rebuking him for it. Various suggestions were offered to explain the Emperor's own absence from these shows: some ascribed it to his dislike of a crowd, others to his morose character and to his dread of inviting comparison with Augustus, whose genial presence had never been wanting. I cannot believe that his object was to provide his son with an opportunity for displaying the cruelty of his disposition and thereby exciting the disgust of the people, although this too was said.

LXXVII. The disturbances in the theatre, which had begun in the preceding year, now broke out again in a more serious form. In addition to some of the populace, several

soldiers and a centurion were killed, and the tribune of a praetorian cohort was wounded, while attempting to check the disorderliness of the crowd. This riot formed the subject of a debate in the Senate, and resolutions were moved giving the praetors power to flog actors. Haterius Agrippa, tribune of the plebs, interposed his veto, and was thereupon attacked by Asinius Gallus. Tiberius, whose policy it was to make the Senate a present of such hollow mockeries of freedom, said not a word. The opposition, however, carried the day. For the great Augustus had once given a decision that actors should be exempt from flogging, and Tiberius could not properly reverse his decisions. Several regulations were made with the object of limiting the amount of the actors' pay and repressing the licence of their partisans, of which the most remarkable were:—a regulation prohibiting senators from entering the houses of actors; a regulation prohibiting Roman knights from accompanying them when they appeared in public, and the actors from giving any exhibition except in the theatre; and a regulation investing the praetors with power to punish with exile disorderly conduct on the part of spectators.

LXXVIII. The petition of the Spaniards praying for permission to erect a temple to Augustus in the colony of Tarraco was granted, and an example thus set to the other provinces.

When the people petitioned for relief from the tax of one per cent. on all vendible commodities which had been imposed after the civil wars, Tiberius issued an edict, declaring that the military exchequer was dependent upon the revenue from this source, and at the same time pointing out that the State would be unequal to the burden if the veterans were discharged before the twentieth year of service. Accordingly the ill-advised concessions made in the late mutiny, by which the troops had extorted the privilege of discharge after sixteen years service, were rescinded for the future.

LXXIX. On the consideration of the report of Arruntius and Ateius the Senate debated the proposal to divert the streams and lakes which feed the Tiber for the purpose of

keeping in check the inundations of the river; and deputations were received from the municipalities concerned. The Florentines petitioned against the diversion of the Clanis from its customary channel into the river Arno, asserting that this would mean disaster to them. Similar arguments were adduced by the people of Interamna who alleged that the most fertile plains of Italy would be ruined if the river Nar, as was proposed, were to have its stream drawn off by channels, thereby transforming those plains into a stagnant marsh. The Reatini also added a protest, remonstrating against the proposal to dam the Veline Lake at the point where it empties itself into the Nar; for the result, they said, would be that it would overflow into the surrounding country. They urged that Nature knew best what was most beneficent for mankind when she marked out the mouths of the rivers, their channels, their sources, and their exits: respect moreover was due to the sentiment of the Allies³² who had dedicated sacred rites, groves, and altars to the rivers of their native land: Tiber himself would refuse to be robbed of the tribute of his neighbouring streams and to flow with diminished glory.

The petitions of the colonies, the difficulty of carrying into effect the proposed scheme, or possibly, superstition, carried such weight that the voting was in favour of the motion of Piso who proposed that no change should be made.

LXXX. Poppaeus Sabinus was continued in the government of the province of Moesia, to which Achaëa and Macedonia were now added. It was a part of the policy of Tiberius to extend the periods of service of his officers and to keep them in the same armies or in the same administration until the end of their lives. Various reasons have been assigned for this policy: some ascribe it to the distaste of Tiberius for the trouble involved in making a new appointment, which led him to make permanent the arrangements that he had once made: others ascribe it to his jealous disposition, which made him unwilling to allow many men to enjoy office. There are some who think that though his mind was subtle, his judgment was

³² *i.e.* the Italians, who originally were only allies.

irresolute. For while he did not look for exceptional merit, on the other hand he detested vice : the best men he feared might become a menace to himself, and the worst bring dishonour upon the State. This irresolution at last carried him to such lengths that he appointed as governors of provinces men whom he had no intention of ever allowing to leave Rome.

LXXXI. With regard to the consular elections which were now held for the first time in the reign of Tiberius, and indeed with regard to the elections in the subsequent years of his reign, I should hesitate to speak with any confidence ; so conflicting is the evidence afforded by historians of the period and even by the Emperor's own speeches. Sometimes he withheld the names of the candidates but described the origin, life, and services of each in such a way as to make it perfectly clear whom he meant. At other times he withheld even such references, and exhorted the candidates not to disturb the elections by canvassing, promising to make that his own care. Generally he declared that those alone had submitted their claims to him whose names he had given to the consuls ; but others, he added, were welcome to put forward their claims if they felt any confidence in the interest or in the merit they possessed. Plausible as they appeared, these sentiments were in fact either unmeaning or delusive ; paying lip-service for the moment to the principle of liberty, only to emerge in the future in their true character as the expression of a ruthless despotism.

BOOK II

A.D. 16-19

I. IN the consulship of Sisenna Statilius Taurus and A.D. 16. Lucius Libo troubles broke out in the kingdoms of the East and the Roman provinces in that part of the world.

The movement began with the Parthians, who, having asked for and obtained a king from Rome, now began to despise him as a foreigner, in spite of the fact that he belonged to the family of the Arsacidae. This king was Vonones, whom Phraates had given as a hostage to Augustus. For though he had driven out of his kingdom the armies and the generals of Rome, Phraates had paid Augustus every homage by which respect could be shown, and had sent some of his children to him to strengthen the friendly relations subsisting between them, not so much from fear of our strength as from distrust in the loyalty of his fellow-countrymen.¹

II. After the death of Phraates and his immediate successors, the carnage caused by their civil wars induced the Parthian chiefs to send an embassy to Rome to summon Vonones, the eldest of the sons of Phraates. Caesar took this as a compliment to himself and loaded the prince with rich presents. The Parthians received him with the welcome usually accorded to new rulers. But after a time they began to feel conscious of a sense of humiliation. The Parthians had degenerated, they said: they had had to seek their king from another world, a king whose mind had been poisoned by the arts of their enemies: and the throne of the Arsacidae was now in the gift of Rome like any other

¹ On the history of Parthia and Armenia, see Prof. Rawlinson's "Sixth Oriental Monarchy."

Roman province. Where, they asked, was their pristine glory, the glory won by those who slew Crassus and routed Antonius, if Parthians were to bend the knee before a mere chattel of Caesar and one who for years had endured the degradation of slavery ? Their indignation was aggravated by the character of Vonones himself, who was a stranger to the customs of his ancestors, who seldom hunted, who took little interest in horses, who, whenever he made a progress through their towns, was carried in a litter, and who despised their national festivities. They derided too his Greek courtiers, and his custom of keeping under seal even the cheapest household articles. It is true that he was easy of access and invariably courteous in his manners ; but these virtues were unknown to the Parthians, who regarded them merely as new vices ; and because they were foreign to their own ideas, his good and his bad qualities were equally offensive to them.

III. Accordingly Artabanus, who came of the Arsacid stock and who had grown to manhood among the Dahae, was summoned to depose him, and, though defeated in the first engagement, he rallied his forces and gained possession of the kingdom.

After his deposition Vonones found refuge in Armenia, which was then without a king. Armenia was the buffer state between the Parthians and the Romans, and had been alienated by the criminal conduct of Antonius, who had first lured Artavasdes, king of the Armenians, into his clutches by professions of friendship, then put him in irons, and finally murdered him. His son Artaxias, embittered against us by the memory of his father's fate, secured protection for himself and his kingdom in the support of the Arsacidæ. When Artaxias fell a victim to the treachery of his kinsfolk, Caesar found the Armenians a ruler in the person of Tigranes, who was escorted to his new kingdom by Tiberius Nero. Neither Tigranes nor his children reigned long, although the latter, following the foreign custom, married and shared the throne between them.

IV. Artavasdes was next appointed king by command of Augustus, and subsequently expelled, but only after a

disaster to the Roman arms. The pacification of Armenia was then entrusted to Caius Caesar, who selected as its sovereign Ariobarzanes, a Mede by birth, whose fine presence and high spirit found favour with the Armenians. But when Ariobarzanes died, from the effects of an accident, they would not tolerate his descendants. They tried the experiment of being ruled by a woman named Erato, and when she after a short reign was driven from the throne, finding themselves in a state of disorder and confusion resembling anarchy rather than freedom, they invited the refugee Vonones to become their king. But when Artabanus adopted a threatening attitude, Creticus Silanus, the governor of Syria, realising that no reliance could be placed on the support of the Armenians themselves and that for us to defend him meant war with the Parthians, brought Vonones away and kept him under guard, allowing him, however, to retain his royal style and title. The effort made by Vonones to escape from this ridiculous position will be narrated in due course.

V. The troubles in the East were not altogether unwelcome to Tiberius, who perceived in them a pretext for withdrawing Germanicus from his old and tried legions, and, by sending him to govern provinces with which he was unacquainted, for exposing him to the combined attacks of treachery and misfortune. But as the affection of his troops increased and the estrangement of his uncle grew more pronounced, Germanicus became more than ever eager to bring the war to a speedy and successful conclusion. He devoted himself to the consideration of plans of campaign and of the lessons which the successes and disasters of nearly three years of warfare had taught him. The conclusions at which he arrived were, that in a pitched battle on fair ground the Germans were regularly routed, but that forests and marshes, the short summers and the early winters, were all in their favour: that his own troops suffered, not so much from wounds received in actual fighting, as from long marches and the loss of their weapons: that the capacity of the Gallic provinces to supply him with remounts was exhausted: and that a long baggage-train was both easy to surprise and difficult

to defend. If, however, he were to avail himself of the sea route, he would, he saw, at once be in a position to make good his footing before the enemy even knew of the attempt, the campaign could be commenced earlier in the year, and his legions and commissariat could be sent to the front together, while his cavalry and their horses could be transported up the mouths and channels of the rivers and arrive in good condition in the very heart of Germany.

VI. Accordingly he concentrated all his efforts in this direction, despatching P. Vitellius and C. Antius to complete the assessment of the Gallic provinces. Silius, Anteius, and Caecina were charged with the task of supervising the construction of a fleet. A thousand vessels appeared to be sufficient for the purpose, and were soon finished. Some of these vessels were short, narrow in prow and stern, and broad in the beam, so that they might offer a better resistance to the waves; some were flat-bottomed so that they might be grounded without suffering any damage. In most of them helms were attached to both ends of the ships, in order that, if the direction in which they were being rowed were suddenly reversed, they might run ashore with equal facility in either direction. Many of them were provided with decks on which war-engines might be carried; and at the same time they were suitable for the transport of horses and provisions, handy under sail and speedy if propelled by oars. Finally, the eager troops whom they carried served to heighten their imposing and formidable appearance.

The island of the Batavi, where they were directed to assemble, was, by reason of the easy landings which it afforded, well adapted both for embarking the troops and for carrying the war across the frontier. For the Rhine, which down to this point flows in a single channel, following a course which is uninterrupted except by a few small islands, when it enters the territory of the Batavi, divides into two streams, the first of which retains the name of the Rhine and the same rapid current with which that river runs past Germany, until it finally loses itself in the Ocean; while the second, on the Gallic side, flows in a wider and gentler stream, its name being altered by the dwellers on

its banks to that of the Vahal, a name which again is presently exchanged for that of the Mosa, and it discharges itself into the Ocean through the vast mouth of the latter river.

VII. While waiting for the ships to arrive, Caesar directed the legate Silius with a flying column to make a raid into the territory of the Chatti; and he himself, upon hearing that the fort guarding the river Lupia was besieged, led six legions to the spot. Silius, owing to the sudden rainstorms, only succeeded in taking a small amount of booty and capturing the wife and daughter of Arpus, the chief of the Chatti; and the enemy besieging the fort dispersed at the first news of Caesar's approach without giving him an opportunity to engage them. They had, however, destroyed the mound recently erected in memory of the legions of Varus and the old altar set up to Drusus. Germanicus restored the altar, and in honour of his father's memory filed past it in solemn procession at the head of his legions. The mound it was decided not to renew. The whole country lying between the Aliso and the Rhine was protected by fresh lines of fortifications and earthworks.

VIII. The fleet having now arrived, Germanicus sent forward his commissariat, assigned the legionaries and the allies to their ships, and entered the canal which is called after Drusus, praying his father to be propitious to a son who dared to follow in his steps and to sustain him by the example and memory of his own counsels and achievements. A successful voyage through the lakes and the Ocean brought him to the river Amisia. Instead of sailing up the river, as he should have done, he made the mistake of leaving his fleet on the left bank. The troops had to be transported to the other side, as they were to advance into the country on the right bank; and thus several days were wasted in constructing bridges. The cavalry and the legions crossed over the nearest tidal marshes in good order; but the rear-guard of the auxiliary forces and the Batavi who were with them, plunging into the water and displaying their skill in swimming, got into disorder, and some of them were drowned. Caesar was measuring out his camp when news was brought to him that the Ampsivarii

had risen in his rear. Stertinius, who was sent to the spot with a body of cavalry and some light troops, punished them for their treachery with fire and sword.

IX. The Romans and the Cherusci were separated by the river Visurgis. Arminius appeared on the river-bank with the other chiefs and inquired whether Caesar had arrived. When informed that Caesar was present, he asked to be allowed an interview with his brother. This brother, who was in the Roman army, was named Flavus. He was remarkable for his fidelity to the Romans and had lost an eye as the result of a wound received in action a few years earlier while serving under Tiberius. Permission having been accorded, Flavus went to the riverside and was greeted by Arminius, who dismissed his own attendants and requested that the archers posted on the Roman bank should also withdraw. When they had gone he asked his brother how he had come by his disfigurement. Flavus told him the place and the battle in which he had been wounded, whereupon Arminius inquired what compensation he had received. Flavus enumerated the increase of pay he had been given, and the collar, the crown, and the other military rewards which had been bestowed upon him, Arminius the while sneering at the paltry price for which his slavery had been purchased.

X. The two brothers then commenced to argue with one another. Flavus spoke of the greatness of Rome, of the might of Caesar, of the heavy punishment meted out to the conquered, and of the clemency reserved for those who submitted, adding that even his brother's wife and son were not treated as enemies. Arminius in his turn spoke of the duty of patriotism, of the ancient freedom of their race, of the tutelary deities of Germany, and of their mother, who united with his her prayers that his brother would not desert his kith and kin and his own people, preferring to betray them when he might rule over them. Gradually they lapsed into mere invective; and even the river which separated them would not have prevented them from coming to actual blows, had not Stertinius hastened to the spot and restrained Flavus, who was now blazing with anger and calling for his arms and his horse. On the opposite bank

Arminius was seen, full of menaces and threats of battle. His speech was interspersed with Latin phrases, for he had once served in the Roman army as commandant of a force composed of his own countrymen.

XI. On the next day the Germans appeared in battle array on the other side of the Visurgis. Caesar, considering that it would be bad generalship to expose his legions without first constructing bridges and setting troops to defend them, threw his cavalry across by a ford. Stertinus and Aemilius, one of the first-rank centurions, who commanded the cavalry, rode into the river at different points in order to distract the enemy. Chariovalda, the leader of the Batavi, dashed through the river where the stream ran at its swiftest, and the Cherusci, simulating flight, drew him into an open space enclosed by woods; then rushing out from their ambuscade they surrounded him on all sides, drove back those who attempted to resist their advance, and hotly pursued those who gave way. When the Batavi rallied and closed up in circular formation, a body of the enemy engaged them at close quarters, while others harassed them from a distance. Chariovalda, having withstood the fury of the enemy's assault for a long time, exhorted his men to break through the hordes of their assailants in a solid body. He himself charged into the thickest of the fight and fell under a shower of missiles with his horse killed under him; and round him fell many of the Batavian nobility: the rest of his force were rescued from their perilous position by their own bravery or by the cavalry of Stertinus and Aemilius who came to their assistance.

XII. Caesar, having crossed the Visurgis, learnt from a deserter that Arminius had selected the position where he proposed to give battle, that other tribes had joined him in the forest which is sacred to Hercules, and that the enemy would attempt a night attack on the Roman camp. This report was believed to be genuine: and moreover the enemy's watch-fires could be descried, and the scouts who had got within a short distance of the enemy's lines brought word that they had heard the neighing of horses and the noise of a mighty confused multitude. Caesar therefore, recog-

nising that a decisive struggle was imminent, and desiring to sound the temper of his troops, debated in his own mind the best means of doing so. He reflected that tribunes and centurions were more often the bearers of news which seemed likely to prove acceptable than of facts of which they had accurate knowledge, and that his freedmen were servile and his friends given to flattery : if, again, he were to assemble the troops and address them, a few would give the cue and the rest would follow. He therefore came to the conclusion that their inmost thoughts could only be learnt when the soldiers escaped from the eyes of their officers and gave free expression to their hopes or fears over their meals.

XIII. At the beginning of the night he left the general's tent by a secret exit unknown to the sentinels, and followed by a single companion, with his shoulders covered by a skin, made his way to the passages through the camp, stopped before the tents, and had the satisfaction of hearing what was said about himself. One man extolled the general's high birth, another his stately presence, and most of them his patience, his courtesy, and his even temper in work and in pleasure alike ; while they agreed that it was their duty to show their gratitude to him by their conduct in the field, and to offer up, as victims to his vengeance and his glory, the treacherous foes who had violated the peace. At this moment one of the enemy who knew Latin rode up to the palisade, and in a loud voice promised in Arminius' name wives, lands, and pay at the rate of 100 sesterces a day as long as the war lasted, to anyone who deserted. This insult fired the anger of the legions, who cried : " Let but day come and the fight begin : they would know how to take the Germans' lands and carry off their wives : they accepted the omen : the women and the bribes of the enemy were marked out for their booty." About the third watch an attempt was made to assault the camp, but the enemy retired without discharging a missile on perceiving that the entrenchments were crowded with the cohorts and that there was no relaxation of vigilance.

XIV. That same night Germanicus had an encouraging

dream. He dreamt that he was sacrificing, and that when his garment was splashed by the blood of the victim, he received another and a more beautiful garment from the hands of Augusta, his grandmother. Elated by this omen, which was confirmed by the auspices, he summoned an assembly of the troops and expounded to them the tactics which in his sagacity he foresaw would assist them in the coming fight. "The soldiers of Rome," he said, "would find woods and forests as favourable for their operations as the plains, provided that they profited by their intelligence; for the huge shields of the natives and their long spears were not so well adapted for fighting between the tree-trunks and in the brushwood as the Roman javelins and swords and the Roman close-fitting armour. They must strike hard and fast, aiming at the faces of their foes; for the Germans had no cuirass or head-piece, and even their shields, instead of being strengthened with steel and leather, were merely plaited osiers or thin, painted planks. After all, their first line only was armed with the spear; the rest had only stakes with burnt ends or short javelins. Their bodies again, in spite of their terrifying aspect, though strong enough at the first shock, did not possess the endurance requisite to bear wounds with fortitude. Insensible to shame and without a thought for their leaders, they would break and flee, proving themselves as cowardly in disaster, as in success they had shown that they regarded no law, human or divine. If the army were tired of marches and sea-voyages and wished to bring their labours to an end, they could do so by this battle. They were now nearer the Elbe than the Rhine, and beyond there would be no further fighting, if only they would set him, firm and fast, a conqueror in those lands which his father and his uncle had trod before him."

XV. The general's speech kindled the enthusiasm of his troops and the signal for battle was given. Arminius on his side, and the other German chiefs, also appealed to their own men, declaring that "these were the same Romans who had fled first and farthest of all the army of Varus, and who had stooped to mutiny to avoid the hardships of war; and now, with wounds on their backs and with

bodies bruised by the waves and the tempests, they were about to expose themselves once again to the anger of their enemy and the wrath of the gods, with no real hope of success. And though they had found a fleet and searched the trackless sea for ways where no man could meet them or pursue their flight, once they came to close quarters, winds and oars would not avail them in their defeat. Let the Germans but remember the greed, cruelty, and insolence of these Romans. Was aught left for the Germans but to hold fast to freedom or to die before they became slaves ? ”

XVI. Excited by these words and clamouring for battle, the Germans were led into a plain which is named Idistavisus.² This plain lies between the Visurgis and the hills, and the receding river-bank and the encroaching heights determine its irregular shape. At the back rose a wood of tall trees whose high branches left clear spaces between the trunks. The plain and the outskirts of the wood were held by the natives : the Cherusci took up a position by themselves on the heights, whence they might swoop down on the Romans when the latter were already engaged.

Our army advanced in the following order :—the Gallic and German auxiliaries in the van, followed by the archers on foot : next, four legions and Caesar himself with two praetorian cohorts and a picked body of cavalry : and behind them four more legions and the light troops, together with the mounted archers and the remaining cohorts of the allies. The army was all on the alert, and ready at a moment to convert the marching order into order of battle.

XVII. Germanicus, on perceiving the Cheruscan bands, which in their fierce eagerness had broken from their position, ordered his finest cavalry to charge them on the flank, while Stertinius with the other squadrons worked round and attacked in the rear, he himself promising to come up to their support at the proper time. At this moment the commander observed eight eagles making for, and subsequently entering, the woods. Seeing how singularly propitious was this omen, he shouted “ Advance, follow the

² The topography is again obscure.

birds of Rome, the legions' own divinities !” Thereupon the infantry charged, and the cavalry which had previously been thrown forward fell upon the enemy's flank and rear. This combined attack produced a curious result, for the two main bodies of the enemy fled in exactly opposite directions, those who had held the wood rushing into the open, and those who had taken up their position in the plain, rushing into the woods. The Cherusci, between the two, were driven down from the hills. Conspicuous among the latter was Arminius himself, striving to rally his men by gesture, by words of exhortation, and by pointing to the wound he had received. He threw himself against our archers, and would have broken through at this point, had not the Rhaetian, Vindelician, and Gallic cohorts advanced against him. As it was, by a supreme effort and by means of furious riding he got clear away, having smeared his face with his own blood to avoid recognition. According to one account he was actually recognised by the Chauci who were serving in the Roman ranks, but allowed by them to escape. Similar courage or a similar act of treachery saved Inguiomerus. The rest were simply massacred. A great number who attempted to swim the Visurgis were overwhelmed by the showers of missiles, by the force of the current, or, if they escaped these perils, by the crush of the fugitives or by the river banks falling upon them. Some sought an ignominious refuge in the tops of the trees and hid in the branches ; but our archers were ordered up and amused themselves by transfixing them with their shafts : in other cases the trees were felled and precipitated them to the ground.

XVIII. The victory was complete and our losses trifling. The slaughter of the enemy continued from nine in the morning right up to night-fall. For a distance of ten miles the ground was strewn with their corpses and weapons. Among the spoils were found the chains which, as though the issue were never in doubt, they had brought to bind the Romans. On the field of battle the troops saluted Tiberius as “Imperator,”³ and built a mound on which they piled as

³ See note to Book I. ch. 1. The salutation would probably be addressed to the effigy of the Emperor.

trophies the arms they had taken, with the names of the conquered tribes inscribed beneath them.

XIX. The sight of this mound moved the Germans to greater grief and anger than all their wounds, all their mourning, and all their disasters. They had been preparing to depart quietly from their settlements and to retire across the Elbe. Now they were anxious to fight. They seized their arms; and chiefs and people, young and old, united to make a sudden attack and to harass the Romans on the march. Finally they selected a position, enclosed by a river and a forest, within which there was a confined and marshy open space: the woods too were surrounded by a deep morass, except on one side, where the Angrivarii had constructed a broad barrier to divide themselves from the Cherusci. Here the enemy's infantry took their stand: the mounted men were concealed in the woods so as to be in the rear of the legions when they entered the forest.

XX. None of these proceedings were unknown to Caesar. He was acquainted with their plans and their dispositions, with all their open or secret movements, and he made of their stratagems an instrument for their own destruction. He gave the cavalry to the legate Seius Tubero with instructions to occupy the plain: the infantry he marshalled in such a way that one division might reach the wood by advancing across the level, while the others might assault the barrier which lay in their path. The most difficult part of the operation he assigned to himself, leaving the rest to his legates. The division which had the advantage of the level ground broke into the wood without difficulty; but the troops who had been set the task of storming the barrier found it as difficult as the scaling of a wall, and suffered severely at the hands of the defenders who stood above them. The Roman general, perceiving that fighting at such close quarters gave the defenders a great advantage, withdrew the legions a short distance away and directed the slingers and javelin-men to dislodge the enemy. Spears were discharged from the machines, and in their exposed position the defenders suffered so heavily that they were at length driven away. The palisade taken, Caesar led a

charge of the praetorian cohorts into the woods, where a hand-to-hand struggle took place. The enemy were cut off from retreat by the marsh which lay in their rear, the Romans by the river and the hills. Thus the situation in which the combatants found themselves compelled both sides to stand and fight to the last: for both sides hope lay in bravery alone, and safety depended upon victory.

XXI. The Germans displayed no less courage than the Romans, but the character of the fighting and the weapons used turned the scale. In the confined space the huge hordes could neither extend nor recover their immense spears, and the close quarters at which they were forced to fight prevented them from making sudden rushes or quick movements of any kind. Our troops on the other hand, with their shields fitting closely to their chests and their hands on the hilts of their short swords, stabbed at the long limbs and unprotected faces of the natives, and cut their way through the enemy over the bodies of the slain. The series of perils through which he had passed seemed at last to have robbed Arminius of his energy, or possibly his recent wound prevented him from displaying his usual activity. Inguiomerus too, who was in every part of the field, found the fortunes of war, rather than his own courage, failing him.

That he might be more easily recognised Germanicus had uncovered his head, and he now urged his men to slay without ceasing, saying that they needed no prisoners, and that the war would only be ended by the extermination of the race. Late in the day he withdrew one legion to entrench a camp. The other legions continued their deadly work until night fell and their thirst for blood was appeased. The operations of the cavalry had been indecisive.

XXII. Having assembled the army and congratulated his victorious troops, Caesar made a mound of the captured weapons with the following proud inscription:—"The army of Tiberius Caesar, having conquered the nations dwelling between the Rhine and the Elbe, has dedicated these memorials of its victories to Mars, Jupiter, and Augustus." Of himself Germanicus added not a word,

either because he feared to give cause for any jealousy or because he was satisfied with the consciousness of his achievements. Shortly afterwards he entrusted Stertinus with the operations against the Ampsivarii, who, however, hastily made their submission; and, as they humbly petitioned for mercy and pleaded guilty to the charges brought against them, they were granted a full pardon for all their offences.

XXIII. It was now mid-summer and some of the legions had already set out for their winter-quarters by the land route. Most of them, however, were embarked by Caesar on board ship and taken down the river Amisia to the Ocean. The sea at first was calm, and the oars of a thousand vessels splashed gaily in the water or their sails drove them through it. But before long black clouds gathered, a shower of hail swept down on them, and the waves, driven in every direction before the storm which came up from all quarters, hid sky and land from their sight and impeded the navigation of the ships. The frightened soldiers, ignorant of the sea and its perils, by embarrassing the sailors or by their awkward attempts at assistance, fatally interfered with the work of the skilled navigators. From this moment the whole sky and sea became subject to the dominion of the south wind, which, gathering strength from the hilly lands of Germany, from the deep rivers, and from the immense conglomeration of clouds, and gaining fierceness from the vicinity of the frozen regions of the north, caught the ships in its grip, scattered them, and swept them into the open sea or upon islands whose sheer cliffs or hidden shoals rendered them dangerous and inhospitable shores. Barely escaping these perils, when the tide changed and set in the same direction as the wind, they found it impossible to make the anchors hold or to bale out the waves which swept over them. Horses, beasts of burden, baggage, and even arms were thrown overboard in order to lighten the holds, now flooded with the water which was leaking through the timbers or with the seas which had been shipped.

XXIV. The Ocean is of all seas the most notorious for the violence of its storms, and of all countries Germany is

pre-eminent for the rigour of its climate; thus this terrible experience surpassed all others in the novel and awful character of the situation—on the one hand a shore peopled by hostile tribes, on the other a sea of such depth and vastness that it might be thought to be the end of the world where there is no more land. Some of the vessels foundered, most of them were cast up on remote islands, where there was no trace of human habitation and where the troops perished from hunger, except those who subsisted on the dead bodies of horses which had been dashed ashore at the same spot. The trireme of Germanicus reached the land of the Chatti alone. All those days and nights he spent on the rocks and cliffs reproaching himself as the cause of this terrible disaster, and his friends with difficulty prevented him from casting himself into the same fatal sea. When at length the tide receded, aided by a favourable wind the shattered ships returned, propelled by means of the few remaining oars, or with garments spread out for sails, and in some cases towed by the stronger vessels. Having hastily repaired them, Germanicus sent them to search the islands, and by these means most of the shipwrecked crews were recovered. Many were rescued from the tribes of the interior and restored to their comrades by the Ampsivarii, who had lately been received into allegiance: some few had been carried as far as Britain and were sent back by the petty kings of that island. The remote regions from which each of the rescued men returned afforded an opportunity for the telling of wonderful tales of things which they had actually seen, or which fear had pictured to their imagination—violent hurricanes, unknown birds, marine monsters, and animals that were half-man and half-beast.

XXV. The rumoured loss of the fleet, while it encouraged the Germans to hopes of victory, spurred Germanicus on to further efforts to crush them. He despatched C. Silius with 30,000 infantry and 3000 cavalry on an expedition against the Chatti; and he led in person a still stronger force in an attack upon the Marsi. Mallovendus, the chief of the Marsi, who had recently surrendered, gave information that an eagle belonging to one of the

legions of Varus was buried in a neighbouring wood and was guarded by a mere handful of men. A force was hastily detached to divert the enemy's attention by a frontal attack, while another body worked round to the rear and dug up the ground for the eagle. Both parties were rewarded with success. Thus encouraged, Caesar pushed on inland with greater eagerness, devastating and destroying. The enemy either did not dare to accept battle; or, if they did make a stand, were at once routed. According to the reports of the prisoners, the Germans were in a greater state of panic than on any previous occasion: the Romans, they declared, were invincible; no disaster could overcome them; after having their fleet destroyed, after losing their weapons, after the shore had been strewn with the corpses of their men and their horses, they had returned to the attack with the same courage, with as much spirit, and in apparently increased numbers.

XXVI. After these events the troops withdrew to their winter quarters, delighted with having found in victory compensation for the disastrous expedition by sea. Caesar enhanced their satisfaction by his liberality in paying for all the loss which each man claimed to have suffered. No doubt was entertained that the enemy were wavering and were considering the advisability of suing for peace, and that one more campaign in the following summer would bring the war to a conclusion. Tiberius, however, despatched frequent letters to Germanicus urging him to return to Rome and take the triumph which had been voted him. "Germanicus," he wrote, "had already had his share of perils and adventures; he had fought and won great battles; but he should not forget the serious and terrible losses inflicted, though through no fault of the commander, by the winds and the waves. Nine times had he himself been sent by Augustus to Germany, and he had achieved more by diplomacy than by force: by his diplomacy he had procured the submission of the Sugambri, by his diplomacy the Suevi and their king Maroboduus had been forced into making peace. In like manner the Cherusei and the other rebellious tribes, now that the vengeance of Rome had been satisfied, might well be left to their internecine

feuds." When Germanicus begged for a year in which to complete the work he had begun, Tiberius made an even more determined appeal to his moderation, offering him a second consulship, the duties of which would necessitate his presence in Rome. At the same time he added that, if the war had to be continued, Germanicus should allow his brother Drusus an opportunity of winning glory, for as there was now no other enemy, in Germany alone could Drusus hope to attain the title of imperator and to win the laurel wreath of triumph. Germanicus hesitated no longer, although he clearly comprehended that all this was mere fiction, and that he was being torn by jealousy from the honour and glory which he had already won.

XXVII. About the same time Libo Drusus, of the family of the Scribonii, was accused of being concerned in a revolutionary plot. I propose to enter into more than usual detail in describing the commencement, the course, and the final outcome of this affair, because it was the first occasion on which those practices were introduced which for so many years preyed upon the life of the State.

Firminus Catus, a senator, availing himself of his intimate friendship with Libo, induced the young man, who was naturally of a thoughtless and credulous disposition, to resort to Chaldaean astrologers and their forecasts, to magicians and their mysteries, and even to professed interpreters of dreams : at the same time he never allowed him to forget that among his ancestors Libo could claim Pompeius as his great-grandfather ; Scribonia, once the wife of Augustus, as his great-aunt ; the Caesars as his kinsmen ; that in fine his house was full of the images of illustrious predecessors. Moreover he encouraged him to lead a life of luxury and to run into debt, making himself a partner in the young man's pleasures and obligations, in order to multiply the proofs of his guilt and to entangle him more hopelessly in the web he was weaving about him.

XXVIII. When he had procured a sufficient number of witnesses and slaves who could corroborate their evidence, he asked for an audience of the Emperor, employing Flaccus Vesularius, a Roman knight, who could more readily gain access to Tiberius, to specify the charge and the person

accused thereof. Caesar, without making light of the allegation, refused an interview on the ground that communication could be carried on through the agency of this same Flaccus. Meanwhile he invested Libo with a praetorship and invited him to his entertainments, allowing no sign of displeasure to appear in his expression, and no deeper feeling than usual in his speech. Thus he succeeded in concealing his resentment, and though he might have prohibited all that the young man said and did, he preferred to know everything. At last a certain Junius, who had been incited by Libo to summon spirits from the dead by means of incantations, gave information to Fulcinius Trio. Trio had a great reputation as an informer, and was greedy for notoriety. He at once attacked the accused, went to the consuls, and demanded that the Senate should take cognisance of the charge. A summons was issued to the members with an intimation that a matter of grave and sinister importance required their consideration.

XXIX. Libo meanwhile went from house to house, dressed in mourning and accompanied by several women of the highest rank, imploring the assistance of his relatives, and begging them to defend him against the perils with which he was threatened: but he met with a general refusal, prompted in every case, notwithstanding the diversity of the excuses offered, by one and the same motive—fear. On the day on which the Senate met, Libo, exhausted by terror and apprehension, or, according to one account, simulating illness, was carried in a litter to the doors of the Senate House, where, leaning on his brother for support, he lifted up his hands and addressed prayers and entreaties to Tiberius, who listened to him without once changing his expression. The Emperor then proceeded to read the information and the names of the prosecutors, so controlling his voice as to avoid the appearance of either minimising or exaggerating the gravity of the charges.

XXX. Trio and Catus were joined in the prosecution by Fonteius Agrippa and C. Vibius, and the four of them disputed the right of stating the case against the accused; until at length Vibius, finding that they could not agree

among themselves and that Libo had appeared without anyone to undertake his defence, declared that he would content himself with merely setting out the heads of the indictment. He produced papers belonging to Libo, the contents of which were so absurd that it seemed from them that Libo had actually consulted his prophets as to whether he would one day possess sufficient wealth to pave the Appian Road as far as Brundisium with money. These papers contained other matter, equally foolish, equally senseless, and, on a more charitable view of the case, equally pitiable; but in one document, the prosecutor maintained, there were to be found the names of the Caesars and of certain senators to which were affixed cabalistic signs of deadly or mystic import in the handwriting of Libo. On the accused denying this, it was resolved that the slaves who knew his handwriting should be examined under torture: and as by an ancient decree of the Senate the question was prohibited in cases in which the slaves' master was tried upon a capital charge, the crafty Emperor invented for the occasion a novel kind of legal procedure and gave orders that the slaves should be separately sold to the Administrator of Public Property, so that their evidence against Libo could be obtained without any infringement of the decree. Whereupon the accused asked for an adjournment to the following day, and returning home charged P. Quirinus, his relative, to convey his last petition to the Emperor.

XXXI. The reply he received was that his petition should be addressed to the Senate. Meanwhile his house was surrounded by soldiers. The sound of their footsteps in the vestibule was already audible, and they were actually in sight, when Libo, tortured beyond endurance, even at the banquet in which he had expected to find the last pleasure of his life, called for someone to slay him, seized his sword and put it in the hands of his slaves. They recoiled in dismay, and in so doing overturned the lamp that had been placed on the table, and in the darkness, which for him was the darkness of death, he buried his sword twice in his bowels. As he fell with a groan his freedmen ran to his side, and the soldiers seeing the tragedy with-

drew. The prosecution in the Senate, however, was continued with as much persistence as though he were still alive, and Tiberius swore that in spite of his manifest guilt he would have pleaded for his life, had he not thus precipitately destroyed himself.

XXXII. His property was divided among his accusers, and extraordinary praetorships were conferred on those who were of senatorial rank. Cotta Messalinus proposed that Libo's bust should not be carried in the funeral processions of his descendants, and Cn. Lentulus that no member of the Scribonian family should take the name of Drusus. Days of thanksgiving were appointed, on the motion of Pomponius Flaccus. It was further decreed that offerings should be made to Jupiter, Mars, and Concordia, and that the 13th day of September, on which Libo had killed himself, should be kept as a holiday—the supporters of this proposal being L. Piso, Gallus Asinius, Papius Mutilus, and L. Apronius. I have thought it worth while to record these various suggestions and the sycophancy displayed by their authors, in order to show that this vice is an evil of old-standing in the life of the State. Resolutions were also passed with reference to the expulsion from Italy of astrologers and magicians, one of whom, L. Pitunianus, was thrown from the Tarpeian Rock, and another, P. Marcius, was dealt with by the consuls, being taken outside the Esquiline Gate, and, after having his sentence publicly proclaimed to the sound of the trumpet, executed in the ancient manner.⁴

XXXIII. At the next meeting of the Senate Q. Haterius, an ex-consul, and Octavius Fronto, an ex-praetor, made a lengthy attack upon the luxurious habits of the city; and a sumptuary law was passed forbidding the use of vessels of solid gold at table and the degrading habit of men wearing silk. Fronto went further and demanded that a limit should be imposed on the amount of silver plate and furniture and the number of slaves which any one man might possess. (It may be noted that it was at this date

⁴ The culprit was stripped, his head was placed in a fork-shaped instrument, he was flogged to death, and finally decapitated.

still a common custom for senators, when it came to their turn to speak on the immediate question before the Chamber, to express their views on any subject which appeared to them to be in the interests of the State.) Gallus Asinius dissented from this suggestion. He pointed out that "the growth of the Empire had been attended by the increase of private wealth, and that, so far from being a new departure, this was in strict accordance with ancient precedent. Private fortunes in the times of the Scipios were very different from private fortunes in the days of the Fabricii. The State indeed afforded the standard of comparison; when the State was poor and struggling, the citizens' establishments were correspondingly modest; now that the State had reached such a height of magnificence, private individuals naturally kept pace with it. Extravagance or economy in the number of slaves, in the value of silver and plate and household furniture, could only be measured by the fortune of the owner. There was an arbitrary distinction between the property qualifications of senators and knights, not because senators and knights naturally differed as men, but because it was fitting that those who excelled in place, rank, and dignity should also excel in those other things which conduce to the peace of the mind and the health of the body; unless indeed it were to be maintained that the most illustrious citizens should suffer greater anxieties and undergo greater perils, and be at the same time deprived of those material advantages which tend to render those anxieties and perils more endurable." The practical admission, though clothed in an honourable guise, of the vices in question, and the sympathetic tendencies of his audience gained Gallus a ready assent. Tiberius, moreover, had added that it was not the occasion for exercising the censorship; and he assured them that, if there were any indication of a decline in public manners and morals, there would be one who would undertake the duty of correcting any irregularities.

XXXIV. During this debate L. Piso made an attack upon the intrigues of the Forum, the corruption of the tribunals, the brutality of the advocates, and their threats of wholesale prosecutions, and declared his intention of departing

from Rome and living in the country in some remote and obscure retreat. Upon the conclusion of his speech he immediately left the Senate. This incident made a painful impression upon Tiberius. Not content with endeavouring to mollify him by kind words, he induced Piso's relatives to use their influence and their entreaties to prevent his departure.

Not long afterwards an equally remarkable illustration of the outspoken manner in which this same Piso resented a personal injury, was afforded by his summoning before the courts of justice a woman named Urgulania, whose friendship with Augusta had seemed to place her beyond the reach of the laws. Urgulania refused to comply with the summons, and in defiance of Piso had herself carried to Caesar's Palace. Piso, on his side, declined to abandon the prosecution, notwithstanding Augusta's complaints that her dignity was being outraged and insulted. Tiberius, thinking to pose as a good citizen by yielding to his mother's caprice so far as to promise to go before the praetor's court and support Urgulania, set out from the Palace, ordering his guards to follow at a distance. A crowd quickly gathered, but the Emperor was seen to be calm and collected, engaging in conversation with various persons and thereby prolonging both the time and his journey, until at last, when the efforts of Piso's relatives to persuade him to desist proved futile, Augusta ordered the money claimed to be paid over. This was the conclusion of an incident from which Piso emerged with credit and Caesar with enhanced reputation. The influence exercised by Urgulania, however, was so excessive and so contrary to the spirit of the constitution that on one occasion, being called as a witness in a certain case which came before the Senate, she refused to appear, and a praetor was sent to take her depositions at her own home, although it was an old-established custom for even Vestal Virgins to appear in the Forum and before the tribunals, whenever they had to give evidence.

XXXV. I should not refer to the adjournment of public business which took place this year, were it not worth while to study the different opinions held and expressed

by Cn. Piso and Asinius Gallus respectively on that subject. Piso, although Caesar had signified his intention of being absent from Rome, declared that that was all the more reason for proceeding with public business, as it would redound to the credit of the State that, in the absence of the Emperor, the senators and knights could still perform their different duties. Forestalled by Piso's assumption of independence, Gallus rejoined that no business could be treated with sufficient distinction or transacted in a manner consonant with the dignity of the Roman people except in the presence and under the eyes of Caesar, and that therefore the consideration of questions which brought all Italy to Rome and caused the provinces to pour into the city should be postponed until Caesar could be present. Tiberius listened in silence to this debate, which was conducted with considerable acrimony on both sides. Public business, however, was adjourned.

XXXVI. Gallus next involved himself in a dispute with Caesar. He moved that the magistrates should be elected five years in advance, and that the legates, who generally attained that rank in the army before holding the praetorship, should be made praetors-elect while still holding their military commands; and, further, that the Emperor should nominate twelve candidates for each of the five years. It can scarcely be questioned that this proposal had a deeper aim than appeared on the surface, and that it was in reality an attempt to probe the secrets of the imperial power. Tiberius, however, affected to regard the proposal as having for its object the aggrandisement of his prerogatives. He argued that "he was too diffident to undertake the heavy burden of selecting, or postponing the selection of, so large a number of candidates: he had with difficulty avoided giving offence when the elections were annual, although with annual elections the prospect of success in the immediate future was a consolation to a candidate for his temporary rejection: what odium then would he incur from those whose chance of success was to be postponed for five years! and how would it be possible to foresee what changes might occur during such a long interval in a man's character, family, or fortune? If the

selection of a candidate only one year in advance tended to fill him with inordinate pride, what would be the result of keeping before his eyes for a space of five years the prospect of the honour in store for him? The proposal involved nothing less than the multiplication five-fold of the number of the magistrates, and the subversion of the constitution, which fixed a limit to the period within which a candidate could exercise his activity and seek or enjoy the fruits of office." By the seemingly liberal tenour of this speech Tiberius continued to retain in his hands the reins of power.

XXXVII. Tiberius augmented the incomes of several of the senators. All the more remarkable therefore was the harshness with which he treated the petition of Marcus Hortalus, a young man of noble lineage, but in indisputably straitened circumstances. Hortalus was the grandson of Hortensius the orator; and Augustus had made him a generous present of 1,000,000 sesterces to induce him to take a wife and thus prevent the extinction of an illustrious family. He came to the Senate with his four children, whom he left standing at the entrance to the Chamber; and when his turn to speak arrived, he fixed his eyes upon the statue of Hortensius which was placed among the orators, or again upon the bust of Augustus (for the meeting on this occasion was held in the Imperial Palace), and thus addressed the Senate:—"Conscript Fathers, you see the number of my children and you mark their age: though they are my children, I begot them only in accordance with the advice and counsel of the Emperor: my ancestors, moreover, had proved that their race was worthy to be continued. For my own part, since the stress and change of circumstances did not permit me to inherit or to acquire either riches or popularity or eloquence, that inborn talent of my house, I was content if my poverty were neither a disgrace to myself nor a burden to others. But the Emperor ordered me to take a wife, and I obeyed. And here before your eyes stands the progeny of a race of consuls and dictators. Not by way of complaint do I speak in this manner, but merely to win your pity for them. They will doubtless hereafter, while you live and

prosper, obtain the honours which it may please you, Caesar, to bestow upon them: in the meantime keep from want these great-grandsons of Quintus Hortensius, these foster-sons of the Great Augustus himself."

XXXVIII. The evident inclination of the Senate to be generous excited the prompt opposition of Tiberius, who stated the grounds of his dissent in nearly the following terms:—"If all the poor men in the Empire begin to come here and ask for pecuniary assistance for their offspring, the State will become bankrupt without succeeding in satisfying every one of the petitioners. Further, the ancient custom of permitting a member occasionally to digress from the immediate question before the Chamber, and, when it comes to his turn to speak, to express his views upon any subject which he may consider to be in the public interest, was certainly not established with the object of enabling us to transact our private business and to attempt to augment our private fortunes, thereby exposing both the Emperor and the Senate to the risk of incurring odium, whether the applicants are treated with generosity or their claims are refused. It is not the language of entreaty but an offensive importunity, sprung upon us in this untimely fashion when the Chamber has met to discuss other questions, for a member to rise in his place and outrage the decencies of debate with disquisitions upon the number and age of his children, to display a similar roughness in his demeanour towards myself, and, as it were, to force his way into the public treasury, which, if depleted by our complaisance, will have to be replenished by our crimes. Augustus gave you money, Hortalus; but not because he felt obliged to yield to your solicitations, nor upon the condition that his gift should be perpetually renewed. Otherwise, every incentive to work will become enfeebled and the propensity to idleness will be encouraged, if a man's hopes and fears for the future no longer depend upon his own efforts, and if every man waits placidly for others to assist him while he lives a life of uselessness to himself and becomes a burden upon the rest of us." These words, and more in the same strain, were greeted with applause by those who make it a rule to express their ad-

miration for everything, whether good or bad, which an Emperor can do, but by the majority of the members were received in silence or with stifled murmurs of dissent. Tiberius, divining this, interrupted his speech for a few minutes, and then resuming said "he had replied to Hortalus, but if the Senate approved, he would give each of his male children 200,000 sesterces." The other members expressed their gratitude; but a feeling of alarm, or a recollection, even in the stress of poverty, of the ancient nobility of his race, kept Hortalus silent. Tiberius never afterwards relented, although the house of Hortensius eventually sank into abject poverty.

XXXIX. In the same year the audacity of a single slave would have split the State into factions and plunged it into the horrors of civil war, had not prompt measures been taken to prevent this catastrophe. A slave belonging to Postumus Agrippa, named Clemens, on learning of the death of Augustus, conceived a project which it is strange should ever have emanated from the brain of a man in his position. His plan was to hasten to the island of Planasia, get hold of Agrippa by fraud or force, and carry him off to the armies of Germany. This bold project was frustrated by the slow progress made by the merchant vessel on which he had embarked; and in the meantime Agrippa was murdered. Nothing daunted, he determined on an even wilder and more hazardous scheme. Having stealthily got possession of the dead man's ashes, he sailed to Cosa, a promontory of Etruria, where he remained in hiding until his hair and beard had grown: for both in age and in appearance he bore some resemblance to his former master. Then through the agency of some carefully selected accomplices he spread a report that Agrippa was alive. The story was first whispered in secret, like all forbidden topics, and then allowed to reach the greedy ears of the most ignorant and credulous section of the population or of those turbulent spirits who are always eager for revolution. He himself visited the towns when it was growing dark, without showing himself too openly or remaining long in the same place; and realising that truth thrives in the light of day and falsehood in the gloom of obscurity, and that truth gains

by delay and falsehood by precipitation, he was careful wherever he went either at once to leave behind him, or else to anticipate, the news of his arrival.

XL. Meanwhile the rumour spread throughout Italy that Agrippa's life had been spared by the intervention of Providence, and the story found credence at Rome. The pretender arrived at Ostia, and great crowds were already welcoming him there and secret meetings preparing to do the same in Rome, while Tiberius was distracted by the alternative presented to him of either employing military force to crush this slave of his or allowing the foolish superstition to die a natural death. Vacillating between shame and apprehension, at one moment he was disposed to think that nothing was too trivial to despise, at another that it was folly to be scared at everything. In the end he entrusted Sallustius Crispus with the task of dealing with the situation. Crispus selected two of his dependants, soldiers according to one account, and instructed them to feign complicity with the impostor, to offer him money, and to promise him their loyal and fearless devotion. They carried out his instructions to the letter. Then having waited for a night when Clemens was off his guard, they took with them a few men just sufficient for their purpose, bound and gagged the pretender, and dragged him off to the Palace. When Tiberius interrogated him as to the way in which he had made himself Agrippa, he is said to have retorted "In the way in which you made yourself Caesar." He could not be forced to betray his accomplices. Tiberius, not daring to execute him publicly, ordered him to be put to death in some obscure quarter of the Palace and his corpse to be secretly removed; and, although many members of the Imperial household and several knights and senators were reported to have assisted him with money or advice, no inquiries were made.

XLI. At the end of this year an arch was built near the Temple of Saturn to commemorate the recovery, under the leadership of Germanicus and the auspices of Tiberius, of the standards lost with Varus; a temple was consecrated to Fors Fortuna near the Tiber in the gardens which Caesar the Dictator had bequeathed to the people of Rome; and

a shrine was dedicated to the Julian family, with an effigy to the Great Augustus, at Bovillae.

In the consulship of C. Caecilius and L. Pomponius, on the 26th of May, Germanicus Caesar celebrated his triumph over the Cherusci, the Chatti, the A.D. 17. Angrivarii, and the other tribes of Germany as far as the Elbe. Trophies, prisoners, and representations of mountains, rivers, and battles were carried in the procession; and the war was treated as concluded because Germanicus had been forbidden to conclude it. The spectators were particularly delighted by the general's handsome person and by the sight of the car which conveyed his five children. But a secret sense of apprehension underlay their delight; for they recollected that Drusus, his father, had found the popularity, which he also enjoyed, only a misfortune in disguise: that Marcellus, his uncle, despite the passionate attachment of the populace to him, had been torn from them in the days of his youth: that short-lived and ill-starred were the favourites of the Roman people.

XLII. Tiberius, nevertheless, in the name of Germanicus gave each member of the city populace a present of 300 sesterces, and had himself designated the colleague of Germanicus in his approaching consulship. Failing, however, by such means to obtain credit for sincere affection towards the young prince, he resolved, under pretext of conferring some official position upon him, to remove him from Rome, and accordingly invented an occasion for doing so, or, possibly, seized upon one which offered itself.

Archelaus had now entered upon the fiftieth year of his reign as King of Cappadocia. Tiberius disliked Archelaus because he had neglected to treat him with proper respect during his residence at Rhodes. This neglect was due, not to any studied insolence on the part of Archelaus, but to the warnings of those who shared the confidence of Augustus; for so long as Caius Caesar was in favour, and especially while he was employed on his mission to the East, it was considered impolitic to show friendship to Tiberius. When, therefore, the line of the Caesars failed and the Empire passed into his hands, Tiberius set a trap

for Archelaus, instructing his mother to write a letter in which, without attempting to conceal the offence which her son had taken, she was to offer the Cappadocian his pardon if he would come in person to sue for it. Archelaus, suspecting no treachery, or, it may be, apprehending compulsion if he let it be believed that he divined the intentions of Tiberius, hastened to Rome. He was received by the relentless Emperor, and not long afterwards was impeached before the Senate. Overcome, not by the fictitious charges which were brought against him, but by the tortures of anxiety and by the exhaustion of old age, and unable to endure the descent from his previous exalted position as a monarch to one of mere equality and even humiliation, he found, or possibly sought by his own hand, an end to his misery in death. His kingdom was converted into a province, and Caesar, alleging that the addition of its revenues would allow of the reduction of the one per cent. tax, fixed that tax at one-half per cent. for the future.

About the same period the death of Antiochus, King of Commagene, and of Philopator, King of Cilicia, threw these countries into a ferment; for while a considerable proportion of the population in each of these kingdoms desired to enter the Roman Empire, others desired to retain a monarchy of their own.

The provinces of Syria and Judaea, moreover, groaning under the burden of taxation, petitioned for a reduction in the amount of their tribute.

XLIII. These questions, therefore, and the Armenian difficulty to which I have already referred, were brought under the notice of the Senate by Tiberius, who expressed the opinion that the troubles in the East could only be settled by the wise statesmanship of Germanicus, for he himself was advanced in years, and Drusus was not old enough for the task. A decree was accordingly passed, assigning to Germanicus the Over-Sea Provinces, with powers superior to those of any other officers, whether selected by the Senate or appointed by the Emperor, in every place which he might visit.

Tiberius, however, had previously removed from Syria Creticus Silanus, who was connected with Germanicus by a

close personal tie (for the daughter of Silanus was betrothed to Nero the eldest of Germanicus' children), and had appointed in his place Cnaeus Piso, a man of violent temper and over-bearing disposition, possessing the haughty spirit which he had inherited from his father. His father was the Piso who in the Civil War had distinguished himself by the active part he had played in helping to rally Caesar's opponents in Africa, who had subsequently fought under Brutus and Cassius, and who, when permitted to return to Rome, had consistently refused to offer himself as a candidate for any public office, until at length overtures were actually made to him to induce him to accept a consulship offered him by Augustus. Inheriting his father's pride, and excited to even greater arrogance by the nobility and wealth of Plancina, his wife, Piso barely consented to yield precedence to Tiberius himself: Tiberius' children he despised as far beneath him: and he never doubted that he had been chosen governor of Syria for the express purpose of thwarting the designs of Germanicus. Some writers believe that he received secret instructions from Tiberius; and without question Augusta, with truly feminine jealousy, prompted Plancina to persecute Agrippina. For the court was secretly divided into two parties, one of which supported Drusus and the other Germanicus. Tiberius favoured Drusus who was his own flesh and blood. The dislike of his uncle only served to confirm the affection of the other party for Germanicus, who, moreover, could claim a distinct advantage, from the point of view of his descent, on the mother's side; for Marcus Antonius was his mother's father and Augustus his mother's uncle. On the other hand, the great-grandfather of Drusus, Pomponius Atticus, was a mere Roman knight, whose alliance with the Claudii was considered a blemish on the family scutcheon. Again, Agrippina, the consort of Germanicus, was the acknowledged superior of Livia, the wife of Drusus, both as a mother of many children and as a lady of spotless reputation. The two brothers, however, lived in exceptional harmony, which the quarrels of their relatives failed utterly to break.

XLIV. Soon afterwards Drusus was sent to Illyria in order to accustom himself to a military life and to win the

affection of the troops. Tiberius, moreover, thought it better for a young prince, addicted to the licence and luxury of the city, to be employed on foreign service. He considered, too, that his own position would be more secure if both his sons had the legions under their command. A pretext was found in the petition of the Suevi for assistance against the Cherusci.

For on the departure of the Romans, the rival tribes, true to the instinct of their race and burning for martial glory, now that they had nothing to fear from a foreign foe, turned their arms upon one another. The power of these two tribes and the courage of their leaders were well matched : but the title of King which he held made Maroboduus disliked by his own countrymen, while Arminius was held in high esteem as the champion of liberty.

XLV. For this reason not only did Arminius' old troops, the Cherusci and their allies, take up arms in his cause, but certain tribes of the Suevi from Maroboduus' own kingdom, namely the Semnones and Langobardi, deserted to Arminius. Thus reinforced, the latter would have enjoyed an enormous advantage, had not Inguionerus with a number of his dependants gone over to Maroboduus, for no other reason than that the elder man thought it unbecoming to his dignity to take second place to a younger man such as his brother's son. The two armies were drawn up in line of battle, each equally confident of success. On this occasion the old German practice of desultory charges was abandoned, and the armies were now no longer the independent and disorganised hordes of former days. Their long wars against the Romans had taught them to follow the standards, to support their first line by reserves, and to obey the words of command. Arminius reviewed his whole army on horseback, and as he rode up to each group in turn he reminded them of the recovery of their liberty and of the slaughter of the legions, and pointed to the spoils and weapons which they had taken from the Romans and which many of them still held in their hands. Maroboduus he stigmatised as a runaway who had no experience of battle, and who sought shelter in the forest of Hercynia and then

sent presents and deputations in order to patch up a compact with the enemy. He styled him a traitor to his country, a satellite of Caesar, a man whom they ought to pursue with the hostility which animated them when they slew Quintilius Varus, until they had hounded him out of the country. Finally he urged them to think of all the battles they had fought, the result of which, and especially the final expulsion of the Romans from their land, left no doubt with whom success in the end would rest.

XLVI. Maroboduus was equally prodigal in self-praise and abuse of his enemy. Holding Inguiomerus by the hand, he declared that the true hero of the Cherusci was Inguiomerus, and that it was his counsels that had brought them all their success. "Arminius," he went on, "was an insensate and an ignorant boor, who was appropriating to himself a glory which of right belonged to another, for his only achievement was the trapping of three wandering legions and of an unsuspecting commander—an achievement which in the end resulted in great disaster to Germany and dishonour to himself, inasmuch as his wife and his child were still in the bonds of slavery. He himself on the other hand, though attacked by twelve legions with Tiberius at their head, had preserved intact the glory of Germany and subsequently concluded peace on equal terms; and he certainly did not regret that it was now in their power to choose between war with unimpaired resources against Rome and peace without bloodshed." An added stimulus was given to the ardour excited by these speeches by the special motives which inspired each of the two armies. The Cherusci and the Langobardi felt that they were fighting for the ancient glory of their race or for their recently gained liberty; the other army, for the extension of their dominions. Never in the history of war has there been a fiercer or a more indecisive struggle for victory. The right wings of both forces were routed. A fresh engagement was expected, when Maroboduus withdrew to the hills, and thus acknowledged his defeat. Losing every day by desertions, he finally fell back into the territory of the Marcomanni, and sent envoys to Tiberius to beg for assistance. The reply he received was that he had no

right to invoke the aid of the Roman arms against the Cherusci, for when the Romans were fighting against the same enemy he had rendered them no aid whatever. Drusus, however, as I have related, was sent out to establish peace.

XLVII. In the same year twelve ⁵ famous cities of Asia were destroyed by an earthquake. As this earthquake occurred during the night, there was even less than the usual warning of the approaching convulsion, and the subsequent disaster was, for the same reason, even more than usually terrible. In other similar catastrophes a precipitate flight into the open country has generally offered a possible means of escape. But in this instance the earth cracked and the fugitives were swallowed up in the abyss. It is on record that huge mountains subsided, that what had formerly been a plain was transformed into lofty hills, and that lurid flames flashed in the midst of the upheaval. Sardis suffered most heavily, and its sufferings attracted the greatest sympathy: Caesar promised the inhabitants 10,000,000 sesterces, and remitted for a period of five years their customary contributions to the Public or Imperial Exchequer. After Sardis, the city of Magnesia under Mount Sipylus suffered the heaviest loss and received the largest share of relief. It was resolved that the citizens of Temnos, Philadelphieia, Aegae, and Apollonis, the inhabitants of the Hyrcanian plain who are called either Mosteni or Macedonian Hyrcani, and the towns of Hierocaesarea, Myrina, Cyme, and Tmolus should be exempted from the payment of tribute for the same period of five years, and that a member of the Senate should be sent out on a mission to survey the actual conditions of these places and to superintend the reparation of their losses. Asia being governed by an ex-consul, an ex-praetor, M. Ateius,

⁵ There is an extant inscription on a pedestal copied from that of a monument erected to Tiberius in A.D. 30 commemorating the assistance rendered by him to fourteen cities which had suffered from earthquake. These fourteen cities include in addition to the twelve here mentioned, Cibyra and Ephesus. The earthquake at Cibyra is mentioned in Book IV. ch. 13 below, and no doubt the earthquake at Ephesus occurred some time between A.D. 23 and A.D. 30.

was selected, in order to avoid the risk of rivalry springing up between men of equal rank and interfering with the discharge of their respective functions.

XLVIII. Not content with this display of munificent liberality for a public object of this nature, Caesar gave a signal and no less popular example of his generosity towards two private individuals. The property of Aemilia Musa, a wealthy woman who died intestate, was claimed by the Imperial Treasury, but Tiberius gave it to Aemilius Lepidus, to whose family she apparently belonged : and in another case, although the will of a rich Roman knight named Patuleius constituted him part-heir, he handed over the whole estate to M. Servilius, who, he discovered, had been named as the heir in an earlier will, the authenticity of which was undoubted. These two senators, he declared, needed money to support their rank. Indeed he consistently refused to benefit by any legacy, unless his personal friendship with the testator warranted him in doing so. He declined absolutely to accept anything from persons whom he did not know, and who only nominated the Emperor as their successor because they had quarrelled with their relatives. But though he relieved honourable and unmerited poverty, he either expelled from the Senate, or acquiesced in the voluntary retirement of, men such as Vibidius Varro, Marius Nepos, Appius Appianus, Cornelius Sulla, and Quintus Vitellius, whose extravagance and vices had reduced them to indigence.

XLIX. About the same date Tiberius dedicated several temples which age or fire had destroyed, and which Augustus had commenced to rebuild. These included a chapel of Liber, Libera, and Ceres near the Circus Maximus, which Aulus Postumius the dictator had built in fulfilment of a vow : a chapel of Flora in the same locality, originally set up by the aediles Lucius Publicius and Marcus Publicius : and the temple of Janus erected near the herb-market by Caius Duilius, who was the first Roman commander to gain a success on the sea,⁶ and who was given a triumph to celebrate a naval victory in the Punic War ; while Ger-

⁶ Off Mylae in B.C. 260, against the Carthaginians.

manicus consecrated a chapel dedicated to Hope, which Atilius had vowed to build in the same year.

L. The law of treason was now reaching its full development. Appuleia Varilia, a niece of the sister of Augustus, was accused by an informer on a charge of treason, for having in certain lampoons made jests at the expense of the Great Augustus, and of Tiberius and his mother, and also because, though connected with Caesar's house, she had been convicted of adultery. It was decided, however, that the provisions of the "Lex Julia"⁷ were adequate to deal with the charge of adultery; and with reference to the charge of treason, Caesar demanded that a distinction should be made, and intimated that, whereas she should be condemned if she had been guilty of blasphemy against the memory of Augustus, he did not desire that slander against himself should enter into the indictment. When requested by the consul to give his opinion with regard to the alleged libels against his mother, he declined to reply; but at the next meeting of the Senate he asked in his mother's name that no words, of whatever import, directed against her should form the subject of any indictment. In the end he secured the acquittal of Appuleia on the charge of treason, and, deprecating any more severe punishment for the adultery, prevailed on the Senate to permit her relatives, according to the ancient custom, to remove her more than 200 miles from Rome. Manlius, her partner in guilt, was banished from Italy and Africa.

LI. The election of a praetor in the place of Vipstanus Gallus, who had died in office, occasioned a pretty quarrel. Drusus and Germanicus, who happened to be in Rome at the time, were ardent supporters of Haterius Agrippa, who was related to Germanicus; a considerable proportion of the senators on the other hand contended that preference should be given to the candidate with the greatest number of children, as indeed the law⁸ provided. Tiberius re-

⁷ The law of B.C. 17. The punishment was loss of half the dowry and a third of the property of the offender, and banishment to an island.

⁸ The "Lex Papia Poppaea." See note on Book III. ch. 25.

joiced to see the Senate trying to decide between the pretensions of his sons and the claims of the laws. The law of course lost the day, but the issue was for some time in doubt and was finally decided by a few votes only, so that its defeat was brought about in the same way as the defeat of other laws in times when the laws were really enforced.

LII. In the same year war broke out in Africa. The enemy were commanded by Tacfarinas. This man was a Numidian by race and had once served under the Romans in their auxiliary forces. Deserting from the Roman army, he had first gathered round him for purposes of plunder and rapine various wandering bandits, and then formed them into regular companies and squadrons, until at last he attained the position of leader, no longer of an undisciplined rabble, but of the whole Musulamian nation. The Musulamii were a powerful tribe, living on the borders of the African desert, who at this date had not arrived at the state of civilisation in which men dwell together in towns. They took up arms, and drew their neighbours, the Moors, into the war with them. The Moors were commanded by Mazippa; and the army was divided into two portions, Tacfarinas keeping the picked men, armed in the Roman fashion, in a camp, training them and teaching them discipline, while Mazippa with a light force carried fire, and sword, and terror wherever he went. They had already forced the formidable tribe of the Cinithii to make common cause with them, when Furius Camillus, pro-consul of Africa, formed a legion and all the allied troops at his disposal into one army, and led them against the enemy. Compared with the hordes of Numidians and Moors, his was but a small force; but the one contingency which he was most anxious to avoid was that the enemy should be afraid to come to close quarters. Hope of victory was the temptation he offered them in order to secure their defeat. The Roman centre was assigned to the legion; the light cohorts and two squadrons of cavalry were posted on the wings. Tacfarinas accepted battle, and the Numidians were routed. Thus after many years military glory was again won by a Furius. For after the time of the famous saviour of the

city⁹ and his son Camillus,¹⁰ martial fame had passed to other families; and the Furius now mentioned did not enjoy any reputation as a successful soldier. For this reason Tiberius was more ready than he would otherwise have been to eulogise his achievements to the Senate, who voted him triumphal honours—a compliment which for once, owing to the unambitious career of Camillus, was attended by no evil consequences to the recipient.

LIII. In the following year Tiberius was consul for the third, and Germanicus for the second time. Germanicus entered upon his office at Nicopolis, a city
A.D. 18. of Achæa, where he had just arrived after a coasting voyage along the shores of Illyria, having paid a visit to his brother Drusus who was then in Dalmatia, and having encountered very rough weather in the Adriatic and afterwards in the Ionian Sea. He therefore spent a few days in refitting his fleet, and took the opportunity to make a journey to see the bay which the victory of Actium had rendered famous, the trophies dedicated by Augustus, and the place where the camp of Antonius had been. The sight filled his imagination with thoughts of his forefathers, for, as I have said, Augustus was his uncle, and Antonius his grandfather, and the picture presented to his mind had both its glad and its mournful side. From Nicopolis he went to Athens, where, as a compliment to that ancient and allied city,¹¹ he dispensed with the attendance of more than a single licitor. The Greeks welcomed him with the most elaborate attentions, and in order to clothe their adulation with a semblance of dignity recounted with some ostentation all the famous words and exploits of their ancient heroes.

LIV. From Athens he went to Eubœa, and then crossed

⁹ In B.C. 390 the Romans were defeated at the battle of the Allia by the Gauls, who afterwards besieged Rome. Camillus is said to have relieved the city at the very moment when the garrison in the Capitol were about to surrender.

¹⁰ The son of the "Saviour of the City" was not so famous as the grandson, who obtained a triumph in B.C. 338. Tacitus may have confused the two.

¹¹ Athens was treated by the Romans as a "free community" and relieved from the jurisdiction of the pro-consuls.

over to Lesbos, where Agrippina gave birth to Julia, her youngest and last child. After this event he sailed along the coast of Asia, visiting the Thracian cities of Perinthus and Byzantium, and finally passing through the straits of Propontis and the entrance to the Euxine ; for he had a great desire to know something of these places with their ancient history and world-wide renown. At the same time his journey afforded him an opportunity of redressing the ills of provinces which were distracted by internal discords or by the oppression of the officials. On his way back he made an effort to see the mystic rites of Samothrace, but the north winds were against him and drove him out of his course. So, after visiting Ilium and the famous ruins—venerable as monuments of the vicissitudes of fortune and as the cradle of the Roman nation—he once more passed along the coast of Asia and put into Colophon in order to consult the oracle of the Clarian Apollo. There was no prophetess at this oracle, as at Delphi, but a priest who was selected from certain families, and usually from Miletus. This priest heard only the number and the names of those who came to consult the oracle ; then descending into a cavern he drank some water from a secret spring, and, though as a rule ignorant of writing and of poetry, gave answers in verse to the questions which were put to him mentally. It is even said that, in the ambiguous language customary to oracles, he predicted the premature death of Germanicus.

LV. Cnaeus Piso meanwhile, in order to put his designs into immediate execution, having terrified the Athenians by his violent entrance into their city, made a speech in which he savagely attacked them, and indirectly disparaged Germanicus on the ground that, forgetting what was due to Roman prestige, he had shown excessive affability—not to Athenians—they had been destroyed by countless disasters—but to the scum of the earth, the people who supported Mithridates against Sulla, and Antonius against the Great Augustus. He went so far as to taunt them with episodes in the ancient history of Athens, such as their defeats at the hands of the Macedonians, and their outrages upon their own citizens ; for he was embittered by a per-

sonal quarrel with the city, owing to its refusal to accede to his request to pardon a certain Theophilus who had been condemned by the Areopagus ¹² for forgery.

Leaving Athens and sailing through the Cyclades by the shortest sea passage, he caught up Germanicus at the island of Rhodes. Germanicus was fully aware of the vituperation with which he had been assailed, but his nature was so generous that, when a storm arose and Piso's vessel was dashed on the rocks, instead of allowing his enemy to perish and his death to be attributed to misadventure, he sent a trireme to rescue him from his peril. So far from relenting, however, Piso could scarcely restrain his impatience for a single day. He hurried on, leaving Germanicus behind him.

Having arrived in Syria he set to work to win over the legions by bribery and corruption, by showing favouritism to the lowest men in the ranks, by discharging the veteran centurions and the strict disciplinarians among the tribunes and filling their places with his own adherents or the most abandoned reprobates he could find, by conniving at idleness in camp and unrestricted licence in the towns, and by permitting the soldiers to wander at will over the country committing excesses wherever they went. To such lengths did he carry this system of corruption that he came to be called in the words of the common soldiers "the father of the legions."

Plancia too, forgetting the decencies of her sex, took part in the cavalry drill and in the evolutions of the cohorts, and indulged in torrents of invective against Agrippina and Germanicus. Some even of the best of the soldiers showed themselves ready to participate in the base intrigue, for it was whispered that the Emperor was not altogether displeased with these proceedings. Germanicus was fully aware of the conspiracy against him, but Armenia required his more immediate attention.

LVI. From the most ancient times this country has always been an uncertain quantity in our foreign policy, by reason of the temper of its people and in consequence of its geographical position; for while it possesses a long

¹² See Dict.

frontier line bordering on our provinces, on the other side it extends right away to Media ; and being thus situated between two powerful Empires, it has generally been involved in some quarrel or other with them originating in its hatred of the Romans and its jealousy of the Parthians. At this period, after the deposition of Vonones, it was without a king ; but the popular choice inclined towards Zeno, the son of Polemo, King of Pontus. From his earliest years Zeno had sedulously cultivated the manners and customs of the Armenians, participating in their hunting, their feasting, and all the other pursuits of an uncivilised nation, and by these means had attached to himself the affections of people and chiefs alike. Germanicus therefore crowned him king at Artaxata with the consent of the nobles and amid the plaudits of the multitude. The people paid him homage and saluted him as King Artaxias, a title derived from the name of the city of Artaxata.

Cappadocia was formed into a province, and Q. Veranius was appointed administrator. The amount of the tribute which the Cappadocians had been in the habit of paying to their kings was at the same time reduced, in order to encourage them to expect more lenient treatment under Roman dominion.


Q. Servaeus was made governor of Commagene, which was then for the first time placed under the jurisdiction of a praetor.¹³

LVII. Germanicus was robbed of the complete satisfaction, which he would otherwise have derived from his successful solution of the various problems connected with the administration of these dependent states, by the flagrant insubordination of Piso, who, having received orders to place himself at the head of some of the legions and to move them into Armenia, or to send them there under the command of his son, had neglected to do either the one or the other. An interview was at length arranged at Cyrrus in the winter quarters of the tenth legion. The two men appeared with set expressions, Piso to avoid showing signs of fear, Germanicus to avoid giving the other the impression that he was using threats against him ; for, as I

¹³ Strictly the "legatus propraetore" of Syria.

have remarked before, his was an unusually forgiving disposition. His friends, however, contrived to inflame his resentment by exaggerating real offences and inventing others out of their imagination, and by bringing charges of every description against Piso, Plancina, and their sons. Finally, in the presence of a few intimate friends, Caesar made a speech, prompted by anger and, at the same time, by a desire to hide his real feelings, to which Piso replied with insolent excuses; and they parted with a hostility which they were at no pains to conceal. From this time Piso seldom put in an appearance at Caesar's tribunal, and, on the rare occasions on which he was present, he sat glowering all the time and openly dissenting from the other's decisions. On one occasion in the course of a banquet at the court of the King of the Nabataei, when golden crowns of great weight were presented to Caesar and Agrippina, and lighter crowns to Piso and the other guests, he was heard to exclaim that this feast was a feast given in honour of the son of an Emperor of Rome, not of the son of a King of Parthia. With these words he threw his crown to the ground and made a long speech inveighing against the habit of luxury. Germanicus, bitterly as he resented Piso's conduct, swallowed his anger.

LVIII. About this time a deputation came from Artabanus, King of the Parthians. He had sent his envoys, he said, to remind Germanicus of the treaty of peace and friendship which existed between Rome and Parthia: he was anxious to renew the alliance, and as a compliment to Germanicus he would come to meet him on the banks of the Euphrates: in the meantime he requested that Vonones should not be permitted to remain in Syria, where he might take advantage of his proximity to Parthia to send his agents to incite the chiefs to revolt. Germanicus in his reply spoke in terms of pride and dignity of the alliance of the Romans and the Parthians, and acknowledged gracefully and with modesty the compliment which the King proposed to pay him in coming to meet him. Vonones was removed to Pompeiopolis, a town on the coast of Cilicia,—a concession to Artabanus which was at the same time a rebuff to Piso, who, in consequence of the numerous

gifts and services by which Vonones had earned the gratitude of Plancina, had become his most ardent supporter. 

LIX. In the consulship of M. Silanus and L. Norbanus Germanicus went to Egypt with the object of studying the antiquities of that country. The needs of A.D. 19. the province supplied him with a plausible pretext for his visit, and as a matter of fact he reduced the price of corn by opening the public granaries, and made himself popular in many ways. He went about unattended by guards, with only sandals on his feet, and clothed in the Greek fashion, following the example of P. Scipio, who is said to have habitually acted in the same way in Sicily, even when the Punic war was still raging. Tiberius passed some slight strictures upon the habits and dress which Germanicus had thought fit to adopt, and censured with the utmost severity his conduct in infringing the regulation of Augustus by entering Alexandria without the permission of the Emperor. For it was one of the secret maxims of the policy of Augustus to reserve Egypt entirely for the Emperor, by forbidding senators or Roman knights of the first rank to enter it without his permission; his object being to guard against the danger of Italy being reduced to starvation by the first adventurer who chose to seize the province, in which, by holding the keys of the land and the sea, he might defend himself with however small a force against the strongest armies which could be sent against him.¹⁴

LX. Germanicus, being as yet unaware that his journey was the subject of censure, started upon a voyage up the Nile. He embarked at Canopus, a town founded by the Spartans to commemorate the burial there of their pilot Canopus at the time when Menelaus on his return to Greece was driven out of his course as far as the shores of Libya. Leaving Canopus, he entered the river at its nearest mouth, which is dedicated to Hercules, who, the natives aver, was born in their country and was the prototype of all heroes of that name, which came afterwards to be applied to others

¹⁴ Egypt was governed, not by a "legatus," but by the "Priniceps" through an equestrian *præfectus*.

who were his equals in valour. Next he visited the mighty ruins of ancient Thebes. Among the remains he saw some huge obelisks on which were inscribed Egyptian hieroglyphics recording the former opulence of the town. One of the older priests being requested to translate the inscription, which was in his native tongue, explained it as meaning that 700,000 men of military age had once lived in Thebes, and that at the head of that army King Rameses ¹⁵ had conquered Libya, Aethiopia, Media, Persia, Bactria, and Scythia; and that the territories occupied by the Syrians, the Armenians, and their neighbours the Cappadocians, extending on the one side to the coasts of Bithynia and on the other side to the coasts of Lycia, formed part of his Empire. The same inscription set out the details of the tribute imposed on the subject races:—the weight of silver and gold, the number of arms and of horses, the offerings to the temples in the shape of ivory and incense, and the supplies of corn and of every other kind of provisions which each nation had to furnish; a list as imposing as one of the tribute which might be levied at the present day ¹⁶ by the Parthian despots or by the Roman Empire.

LXI. Germanicus was also much interested by other wonderful sights, of which the principal were—the stone statue of Memnon, which, when struck by the sun's rays, emits a sound like a human voice: the pyramids, raised to the height of mountains in the midst of the shifting and almost trackless sands by the emulation and wealth of ancient kings: the lake dug in the earth to receive the overflow of the Nile: and the narrow stream of the same river in other places where the water is so deep that no sounding-line can reach the bottom. After seeing these marvels Germanicus proceeded to Elephantine and Syene, formerly the boundary of the Roman Empire, which now ¹⁶ extends to the Red Sea.

LXII. While Germanicus was spending this summer in visiting a number of the provinces, Drusus gained no little prestige by fostering the internecine feuds of the Germans and by inciting them to harry Maroboduus until that monarch's

¹⁵ Ramses II., in the fourteenth century B.C.

¹⁶ *i.e.* in the reign of Trajan, 115 or 116 A.D.

already broken power was completely destroyed. There was a certain young noble of the tribe of the Gotones, named Catualda, who when the fortunes of Maroboduus were in the ascendant had been driven out of the country by him, and who now was encouraged by his enemy's reverses to seek revenge. He entered the territory of the Marcomanni with a strong force, and, having won over the support of the chiefs, stormed the royal palace and the fort which had been built to protect it. He discovered there the booty which the Suevi had long been amassing, and certain sutlers and merchants from the Roman provinces who had been induced, originally by the privileges of trade which were offered to them, then by the desire to make more money, and finally by complete forgetfulness of their own country, to forsake their native abodes and to settle in a foreign land.

LXIII. Deserted on every hand, Maroboduus realised that his only remaining hope lay in the charity of Caesar. Crossing the Danube at the point where the river forms the boundary of the province of Noricum, he wrote to Caesar, not as a fugitive or a suppliant, but in terms which recalled the memory of his former greatness, pointing out that, though many nations had invited the support of this once famous king, he had preferred the friendship of Rome. Caesar replied that he would find a secure and an honourable asylum in Italy so long as he chose to remain; and that, if his interests called him elsewhere, he would be at liberty to depart as freely as he had come. In the Senate Tiberius delivered a speech in which he asserted that Philip had not been so formidable to the Athenians, nor Pyrrhus and Antiochus to the Roman people, as Maroboduus might have proved. The speech is still extant. In it Tiberius insisted upon the great power which Maroboduus had possessed,¹⁷ the truculence of the tribes which had owed him allegiance, the danger of having such an enemy so close to the frontier of Italy, and his own foresight in procuring his overthrow. In pursuance of the policy indicated in this speech, Maroboduus was kept at Ravenna; and the possibility of his one

¹⁷ According to Velleius, Maroboduus had a standing army of over 70,000 men close to the Roman frontier.

day returning to his own kingdom was employed as a menace to keep in check the warlike proclivities of the Suevi. As a matter of history, during the remaining eighteen years of his life he never set foot outside Italy. He lived to an old age, and his excessive love of life lost him much of his early fame.

Catualda met with a similar fate, and found refuge in the same quarter. Crushed shortly afterwards by the resources of the Hermunduri and by the strategy of Vibilius, he was received by the Romans and sent to Forum Julii, a colony of Narbonese Gaul.

The natives who had accompanied Maroboduus and Catualda were settled on the far side of the Danube, between the rivers Marus and Cusus; and Vannius, belonging to the tribe of the Quadi, was made king over them; for it was feared that, if they were allowed to mingle with the other inhabitants, they might disturb the peace of the settled provinces.

LXIV. As the news that Artaxias had been made King of Armenia by Germanicus arrived simultaneously with the news of his brother's successes, the Senate decreed that Germanicus and Drusus should be accorded a triumphal entry into the city; and arches were built on both sides of the Temple of Mars the Avenger with statues of the two Caesars. Tiberius indeed was more pleased with having established peace by his diplomacy than if he had secured the termination of a war by the victory of his battalions.

It is not surprising therefore to find him pursuing a similar policy in his machinations against Rhescuporis, King of Thrace. On the death of Rhoemetalcès, who had ruled over the whole of Thrace, Augustus had partitioned the kingdom between Rhescuporis, the brother, and Cotys, the son, of Rhoemetalcès. The lands under cultivation, the towns, and the country bordering on Greece fell to the share of Cotys: the wild, uncultivated territory, which was exposed to attacks from the enemies on the frontiers, to Rhescuporis. The two kings differed in character as much as the territories over which they respectively ruled; for while the one was gentle and amenable in disposition, the other was fierce and grasping, and impatient

of the partnership which had been forced upon him. After a brief period of delusive amity, Rhescuporis crossed the frontier, appropriated the territory which had been conceded to Cotys, and, when Cotys attempted to resist him, resorted to armed force. While Augustus lived he proceeded with caution, for he feared that the Emperor, to whose will both of them owed their kingdoms, would not be slow to take vengeance if his will were flouted. But when he heard that the Empire had passed into new hands, he began to pour bands of marauders over the frontier and to destroy the fortresses, with the object of provoking open war by these acts of aggression.

LXV. Tiberius dreaded nothing more than the disturbance of the peace and order which he had established. He appointed a centurion to convey to the two kings his prohibition against their settling their disputes by an appeal to arms. Cotys at once dismissed the troops he had collected to assist him. Rhescuporis with feigned moderation demanded an interview, alleging that their differences could be settled by a conference. No difficulty was found in arranging the time, place, or conditions, since the complaisance of the one and the treachery of the other rendered mutual concessions and the acceptance of every proposal an easy matter. Rhescuporis, under pretext of setting the seal to their compact, gave a banquet, which lasted far into the night. Cotys, disarmed of suspicion by the wine and the good cheer, perceived too late that he had been caught in a trap; and, in spite of his appeals to the inviolability of a king's person, to the gods of the family to which they both belonged, and to the obligations of hospitality, he was thrown into irons. Rhescuporis, now master of the whole of Thrace, wrote to Tiberius that a plot had been formed against him, but that he had forestalled the traitor. At the same time, under cover of a war against the Basternae and Scythians, he strengthened his position by fresh forces of infantry and cavalry. Tiberius replied in mild terms, telling him that if there had been no treachery he might rely upon his own innocence: that, for the rest, neither he nor the Senate could distinguish between the right and the wrong without a careful in-

vestigation of the case. Finally, he urged him to deliver Cotys into the custody of the Romans, and, by coming in person, to saddle Cotys with the odium under which he himself was suffering.

LXVI. This letter, and some soldiers who were to take charge of Cotys, were sent to Thrace by Latinus Pandus, pro-prætor of Moesia. Rhescuporis, after wavering between rage and fear, resolved to consummate his guilt in preference to leaving the crime half undone: he ordered Cotys to be put to death, and spread a report that he had died by his own hand. Caesar, notwithstanding, refused to abandon the policy which he had laid down for himself. On the death of Pandus, whom Rhescuporis accused of personal rancour towards himself, he appointed Pomponius Flaccus governor of Moesia. Flaccus was a veteran of many campaigns, and owed his appointment principally to the fact that, being a close personal friend of the King, he was peculiarly qualified for the task of duping him.

LXVII. Flaccus crossed the border into Thrace, and by extravagant promises, in spite of the King's suspicions and his guilty conscience, prevailed upon him to enter the Roman lines. There, under pretext of a compliment, he was guarded by a strong force; and the tribunes and centurions, by means, first, of advice and persuasion, and afterwards, by the more ostentatious watch kept over him, at last opened his eyes to the reality of the compulsion, and brought him to Rome. Accused before the Senate by the wife of Cotys, he was condemned to be banished from his kingdom. Thrace was partitioned between his son, Rhometalces, who was known to have been opposed to his father's policy, and the children of Cotys; and as the latter were not yet grown to manhood, Trebellienus Rufus, an ex-prætor, was appointed temporary administrator of the kingdom, after the precedent of M. Lepidus who in the past was sent to Egypt as guardian to the children of Ptolemy. Rhescuporis was sent to Alexandria, and there was killed while attempting—or supposed to be attempting—to escape.

LXVIII. About the same date Vonones, who, as I have said, had been banished to Cilicia, bribed his guards and

made an attempt to escape to Armenia, and thence to the Albanians and the Heniochi and to the King of Scythia, to whom he was related. Under pretext of a hunting expedition he struck inland from the coast, made his way into the depths of the forest, and then rode at full speed towards the river Pyramus. The natives, however, hearing of the King's flight, destroyed the bridges, and it was impossible to ford the stream. He was therefore captured on the river bank by Vibius Fronto, a cavalry commander, and put in chains. Shortly afterwards one Remmius, a veteran who had returned to the colours, and in whose custody the King had formerly been placed, drew his sword on him as though in a moment of anger, and ran him through, thus confirming the suspicion that he had connived at his escape and making it probable that he slew Vonones because he feared that proof might be fastened on him.

LXIX. On his return from Egypt Germanicus found every regulation which he had made, affecting the legions or the townships, rescinded or reversed. The result was a fierce denunciation of Piso, who in his turn attacked Caesar with an equal degree of acrimony. Finally Piso resolved to leave Syria. He was, however, detained for a time by the ill-health of Germanicus. Upon hearing of his rival's convalescence, he proceeded to interrupt the ceremony which was being held to celebrate the discharge of the vows which had been made for his recovery. He ordered his lictors to snatch the victims from the altars, to remove the sacrificial apparel, and to disperse the inhabitants of Antioch who had assembled for the festival. After this he departed to Seleucia, where he awaited the issue of the relapse with which Germanicus had been seized. The severity of Caesar's malady was aggravated by the conviction that he had been poisoned by Piso. Concealed under the floors and in the panels of the walls they discovered human remains exhumed from their tombs, charms and spells, the name of Germanicus graven on tablets of lead, half-burnt ashes of victims smeared with black blood, and various other instruments of sorcery whereby the lives of men are supposed to be devoted to the divinities of the Lower World. Piso's emissaries, moreover, were sus-

pected of being sent for the express purpose of prying into all the unfavourable symptoms of the sick man's disease.

LXX. These suspicions filled Germanicus with equal indignation and alarm. "If," he complained, "his very doors were to be thus besieged, if he were to be condemned to draw his last breath under the eyes of his enemies, what was to become of his unfortunate wife and helpless children? Poisoning apparently was thought too slow a process: there must be haste and precipitation in order that the province and the legions might pass into the hands of one man without further delay. But Germanicus had not yet sunk so low, and the murderer would not long enjoy the fruits of his crime." He drafted a letter to Piso in which he renounced his friendship. Many writers add that he also ordered him to leave the province. Piso waited no longer, and immediately set sail; but he so calculated his course that he might be near enough to return at once if the death of Germanicus opened Syria to him.

LXXI. Caesar, after a short rally which encouraged hopes of his recovery, began to sink, and feeling that his end was approaching, addressed the friends who were gathered round his bed in the following terms:—"Were I a victim to the common lot of humanity, I should be justified in complaining even against Heaven for tearing me away from my kith and kin, from my children, and from my country, in my youth and before my time. As it is, I have been cut off by the crime of Piso and Plancina, and I leave behind me my last prayer in your hearts: tell my father and my brother of the bitter persecution under which I have writhed, of the cruel plots which have been laid for me, and of the wretched death which ends my life of misery. Those who were attached to me by the promise of my career, those who were bound to me by ties of blood, even those who envied me in my lifetime, will weep for one, who was once Fortune's favourite and the survivor of innumerable battles, now done to death by the treachery of a woman. It will be your part to make your complaint to the Senate and to invoke the assistance of the laws. The chief duty of a dead man's friends is not to follow his body to the grave with ignoble lamentations,

but to remember his wishes and perform his behests. Those even whom he has never known will weep for Germanicus : you will avenge him, if it was myself and not my fortune that you loved. Show the Roman people her who is the grand-daughter of the blessed Augustus and my wife, and enumerate our six children. Pity will be on the side of the accusers. Men will not believe, or believing will not pardon, those who seek to conceal their crime under cover of a command."

His friends, holding the dying man by the hand, swore to give up their lives sooner than their vengeance.

LXXII. Then turning to his wife he prayed her by her memory of himself and by the children of their union to divest herself of her proud spirit, to bow before Fortune's cruel blows, and on her return to Rome not to excite the animosity of those stronger than herself by emulating their power. The advice which he gave thus openly he supplemented by a secret admonition to the effect, it was supposed, that she had reason to fear the hostility of Tiberius.

Soon after, he passed away, to the great grief of the province and the surrounding populations. Foreign nations and kings mourned for him : so courteous was his bearing towards the allies, and so chivalrous his demeanour towards his country's foes. His personal appearance and his manner of speech inspired equal respect, and, though he ever supported the dignity and importance of his exalted position, he was careful to give no offence and to avoid all arrogance.

LXXIII. Though his obsequies were graced by no stately procession and by none of the statues of his forefathers, he was followed to the grave by the memory of his virtues and the approbation of mankind. There were some who found in his appearance, in his age, and in the manner of his death, a parallel to the fate and fortunes of Alexander the Great—a parallel supported by the proximity of the place in which he passed away to the scene of the other's death. Both, it was remarked, possessed the advantages of personal beauty and illustrious birth, both perished when hardly past their thirtieth year by the treachery

of their own people in a foreign land : but Germanicus throughout his life had been gentle in his bearing towards his friends, moderate in the pursuit of pleasure, and content to live with one wife and to be the father of legitimate children : at the same time as a warrior he had been Alexander's equal, although he had not the other's rashness and although he was obstructed in his efforts to crown the many crushing defeats which he had inflicted on the Germans by reducing that nation to slavery : had he been an autocrat like Alexander, had he possessed the title and authority of a king, the ease with which he might have rivalled the other's military renown might be measured by the degree in which he surpassed him in mercy, moderation, and all the other virtues.¹⁸

The body, before being cremated, was exposed to public view in the Forum of Antioch where the funeral ceremony was to take place. Whether it exhibited any signs of poisoning is extremely uncertain ; for opinions differed according to the bias lent to them by pity for Germanicus and by a predisposition either to suspect or to defend Piso.

LXXIV. The legates and the other senators present in Syria proceeded to discuss among themselves the question of appointing one of their number to take over the governorship of the province. Opinions were for some time divided between Vibius Marsus and Cnaeus Sentius, the rest making no serious attempt to obtain the position. In the end Marsus retired in favour of his older and keener rival. Sentius despatched to Rome a woman named Martina, a celebrated poisoner of the province and a favourite of Plancina, in compliance with the demands of Vitellius, Veranius, and the other friends of Germanicus who were as busily engaged in getting up the case for the prosecution as though the defendants were already committed for trial.

LXXV. Agrippina, though exhausted by grief and illness, yet impatient of any delay which appeared to retard her revenge, embarked on board ship with the ashes of Germanicus and accompanied by her children. The departure

¹⁸ With this estimate of Alexander's character we may compare the picture drawn by Plutarch.

of this noble lady, once the happy wife of an illustrious husband and the centre of a respectful and devoted circle, now bearing in her bosom the poor remains, uncertain of obtaining vengeance, racked by fears for her own safety, unhappy even in the motherhood upon which Fate might inflict so many wounds, presented a truly pathetic spectacle.

Piso was at the island of Cos when a message arrived announcing the death of Germanicus. He received the news with the most indecent manifestations of delight, offering up sacrifices and visiting the temples; and his own exultation, which he took no pains to moderate, was even surpassed by the insolent behaviour of Plancina, who, having been in mourning for a sister whom she had lost, made the event the occasion for resuming her gayest attire.

LXXVI. Numbers of centurions flocked to Piso, assuring him of the devotion of the legions, and urging him to return to the province of which he had been, so they said, unjustly deprived and which was now without a governor. While he was still considering what course he should pursue, his son Marcus Piso expressed the opinion that he would be wise to hasten back to Rome. Marcus pointed out that up to the present no crime had been committed that was past forgiveness, and that his father had no cause to fear silly suspicions and baseless rumours: his quarrel with Germanicus had earned him hatred possibly, but not punishment; and the loss of his province was sufficient satisfaction to his enemies. If, however, he were to return to Syria, and Sentius were to offer him resistance, civil war would break out, and the loyalty of the centurions and the troops to his cause would not for long prevail against their vivid memories of their dead commander and their deep-rooted love for the Caesars.

LXXVII. Domitius Celer, on the other hand, one of the most intimate of Piso's friends, argued that he should profit by the opportunity. Piso, he said, and not Sentius, had been appointed governor of Syria: it was to Piso that the emblems of office, the praetor's jurisdiction, and the command of the legions had been given. If the enemy threatened to make a sudden attack upon us, who would more properly take up arms to resist them than the man who had been invested with direct authority to act as governor and who

had received the Emperor's special instructions. Even idle rumours should be given time in which to wear themselves out: innocence itself could seldom withstand the first blast of malevolence. But if Piso were to get the army under his control and gather fresh strength, chance would probably turn to his advantage much which could not be foreseen. "Are we," he asked, "to make speed to land in Italy at the same hour as the remains of Germanicus, in order that the lamentations of Agrippina and the clamour of an ignorant mob may overwhelm you before you can even raise your voice in your own defence? Augusta is your accomplice, and you have the support of Caesar, however they may conceal their real sentiments; and none mourn the death of Germanicus with more ostentation than those who most rejoice thereat."

LXXVIII. It required no great effort to secure the assent of Piso to this view, predisposed as he was in favour of a high-handed policy. He sent letters to Tiberius in which he accused Germanicus of arrogance and luxurious living, and in which he declared that he had been driven from Syria in order to leave the field open for the revolutionary projects of Germanicus, and that the same spirit of loyalty by which he had been actuated when he originally had command of the army had now prompted him to resume the command. At the same time he despatched Domitius on a trireme with instructions to avoid the coasts, to keep to the open sea on passing the islands, and to make for Syria with all possible speed. The deserters who joined him he formed into regular companies, armed the camp-followers, moved his fleet across to the mainland, intercepted a contingent of recruits on their way to Syria, and wrote to the petty kings of Cilicia demanding their support. Young Piso, too, displayed considerable activity in organising the campaign, notwithstanding the protest which he had made against it.

LXXIX. While skirting the coasts of Lycia and Pamphilia, Piso's squadron fell in with the ships which were conveying Agrippina to Rome. Both fleets at once cleared for action, but the impending battle was checked by the fears which they entertained for one another, and ended

in nothing more serious than a battle of words, in the course of which Marsus Vibius summoned Piso to come to Rome and stand on his defence. Piso replied ironically that he would put in an appearance when the praetor, before whom poisoning cases were tried, had appointed a day for the accused and his prosecutors.

Meanwhile Domitius had landed at Laodicea, a town in Syria, and was making his way to the winter quarters of the sixth legion, which he thought would be most likely to offer its services in the cause of revolution, when he was stopped by the legate Pacuvius. Sentius wrote to Piso informing him of this and warning him against making any attack upon the loyalty of the troops or the peace of the province. At the same time he gathered round him all whom he knew to be attached to the memory of Germanicus or opposed to his enemies, and, with constant references to the majesty of the Emperor, impressed them with the fact that Piso was making war on the State. Finally he put himself at the head of a strong force which was fully prepared for battle.

LXXX. Notwithstanding the miscarriage of his plans, Piso did not neglect to take the safest course possible in the circumstances. He seized a Cilician fortress of great strength named Celendris. By uniting the deserters, the recruits whom he had recently intercepted, and his own and Plancina's slaves, with the troops sent to assist him by the Cilician chiefs, he had already formed a composite force equivalent in strength to a regular legion. He boldly proclaimed that he was Caesar's legate, and that he was being excluded from the province which Caesar had granted him, not by the legions—for it was in response to their summons that he was coming—but by Sentius, who had invented malicious charges against him as a cloak to cover his personal spite. He further declared that, if his men would but stand firm, the troops led by Sentius would never fight once they had seen Piso whom they used to hail as their "Father," and who, they would find, had strength on his side if justice were to be the arbiter, and would prove no weakling if the issue were to be decided by an appeal to arms. He then proceeded to deploy his com-

panies in front of the fortifications upon an escarpment of a hill, the other sides of which were surrounded by the sea. The veteran troops of Sentius were drawn up against them in regular lines and supported by their reserves. The rugged determination of the veterans was possibly equalised by the rugged character of the position held by the enemy; but the latter had no courage, no confidence, no weapons even except agricultural implements hastily improvised for the occasion. From the first onset the issue was never in doubt for a moment longer than the time taken by the Roman cohorts to scale the heights: the Cilicians fled and shut themselves in their fortress.

LXXXI. Piso, having in the meantime made an unsuccessful attempt to attack the fleet which was lying close in shore, now returned to the fortress. Standing on the ramparts, and alternately making gestures of despair and calling upon individual soldiers by their names, he essayed by offers of bribes to incite the veterans to mutiny; and he so worked upon their feelings that a standard-bearer of the sixth legion went over to him with his standard. Sentius thereupon commanded the bugles and trumpets to be sounded, and gave orders for an assault upon the ramparts. He directed scaling ladders to be placed against the walls, and bade the most resolute of his men ascend them while the rest hurled spears, rocks, and lighted torches from the machines. Piso's obstinate resistance was at length overcome. He begged that, on surrendering his arms, he might be allowed to remain in the fort while Caesar was consulted on the question of the appointment of the governor of Syria. These conditions were not accepted: the only concession was the offer of ships and a safe-conduct to Rome.

LXXXII. When the illness of Germanicus first became generally known at Rome, and as every report not unnaturally acquired a more serious and a more sinister complexion in the course of its transmission from such a distance, the city gave way to grief and anger, and at last broke into open murmurs. "It was for this," men said, "that Germanicus had been banished to the end of the world, for this that the governorship of the province had been conferred upon Piso: this was the outcome of Augusta's secret

intriguing with Plancina. All too true was what their fathers had said concerning Drusus: the despots resented the republican tendencies of their sons, whose lives were cut short for no other reason than that they conceived the project of restoring equality and constitutional freedom to the Roman people." The indignation of the populace was inflamed by the news of their favourite's death. Without waiting for an official edict or a decree of the Senate, they determined upon an immediate suspension of business, deserted the public places, and shut themselves within doors. Silence reigned throughout the city, except where it was broken by the sounds of lamentation. The general grief was neither assumed nor paraded for effect: and though the people did not omit the outward signs of mourning, still deeper was the sorrow in their hearts.

It so happened that certain merchants, who had left Syria while Germanicus was still alive, brought more encouraging news of his condition. Their report at once found credence, and at once spread to every quarter of the city. Each man as he heard the good news, without stopping to inquire further, passed it on to others, and they in their turn to many more with the embellishments created by their joy. The people ran through the streets and burst open the doors of the temples, night assisting their credulity and the darkness encouraging any wild assertion. Tiberius, instead of checking these false reports, allowed them to be dissipated by the mere effluxion of time: and then, as though they had lost their hero a second time, the bitterness of the people's grief became more intense than ever.

LXXXIII. Honours of all kinds, suggested by the affection or the ingenuity of various senators, were proposed and decreed to the memory of Germanicus. It was resolved that his name should be sung in the hymn of the *Salii*¹⁹: that chairs of State should be set apart for him among the seats of the College of Augustus, and that the chairs should be crowned with garlands of oak-leaves²⁰: that his statue in ivory should be carried in the procession preceding the

¹⁹ See Dict.

²⁰ The crown of oak-leaves would signify that Germanicus was a saviour of the people. See note to Book III, ch. 21.

opening of the games in the Circus; and that no flamen or augur should be elected in his place except a member of the Julian family. Triumphal arches were built in Rome, on the bank of the Rhine, and on Mount Amanus in Syria, bearing an inscription relating the achievements of his career and recording that he had died in the public service. There was also a tomb at Antioch where he was cremated, and a tribunal at Epidaphne²¹ where he passed away. It would be no light task to enumerate all the statues which were erected to his memory or all the places in which he was to be worshipped. When a proposal was made that his bust, engraved on a shield of gold, and of unusual size, should be placed among the busts of the masters of oratory, Tiberius declared that he would dedicate a shield to him, but of the usual size, and similar to the other shields; for, he observed, the illustrious position which a man occupied was no measure of his eloquence, and it was sufficient glory for Germanicus to take a place among the men of letters of ancient Rome. The equestrian order gave the name of Germanicus to the block of seats assigned to the younger knights, and ordained that the cavalcade on the 15th of July²² should be preceded by his bust. Most of these arrangements still survive: some of them were never carried into effect or else have become obsolete.

LXXXIV. While Rome was still mourning for Germanicus, his sister Livia, the wife of Drusus, gave birth to twin sons. Such an event, as rare as it is welcome even in modest households, so delighted the Emperor that he could not refrain from boasting in the Senate that no Roman of like eminence with himself had ever had twin descendants born to him. For Tiberius contrived to make every event, however fortuitous, redound to his own glorification. To the populace, however, this event, occurring when it did, only brought fresh grief; for it

²¹ This is said to be an error, the real name of the place being Ἀντιόχος ἐπὶ Δάφνῃ, a suburb of Antioch where there was a famous sanctuary of Apollo.

²² On this day the knights rode in solemn procession, dressed in their State robes, and wearing olive crowns on their heads, in commemoration of the supposed appearance of Castor and Pollux at the battle of Lake Regillus, B.C. 496.

seemed as though the fortunes of the house of Germanicus were more than ever depressed by Drusus being blessed with children.

LXXXV. In the same year severe measures were passed by the Senate for the repression of licentiousness among women, and the profession of a courtesan was prohibited to any woman whose grandfather, father, or husband was of the rank of a Roman knight. The immediate cause of these measures was the conduct of a woman, belonging to a family of praetorian rank and named Vistilia, who had publicly notified to the aediles that she had become a prostitute; this being the custom which prevailed among our ancestors, who considered that women of loose character were sufficiently punished by the public avowal of their shame. Vistilia's husband, Titidius Labeo, was summoned to explain why he had neglected to invoke the vengeance of the law upon the manifest guilt of his wife. But as he alleged in his defence that the sixty days allowed for preparing a prosecution had not yet elapsed, it was decided that justice would be satisfied by the banishment of Vistilia to the island of Seriphos.

Measures were also taken for the expulsion of the Egyptian and the Jewish worship from Rome; and a decree was passed by the Senate which provided that 4000 men of the freedmen class who had become tainted by these superstitions, and who were of an age to carry arms, should be transported to Sardinia for the purpose of suppressing brigandage in the island; if they succumbed to the unhealthiness of the climate, it was felt that the loss would be a small one. The rest were bidden to quit Italy unless within a fixed date they abjured their unholy rites.

LXXXVI. Tiberius next brought before the Senate the question of admitting a fresh Vestal Virgin in the place of Occia, who for fifty-seven years had presided over the sacred rites with unblemished sanctity; and he expressed his thanks to Fonteius Agrippa and Domitius Pollio for the zeal they had displayed in the public service by offering their daughters as rival candidates for the vacant position. Preference was given to the daughter of Pollio, solely be-

cause her mother was still her father's wife, whereas Agrippa had lowered the prestige of his house by a divorce: and though the latter's daughter was thus passed over, Caesar bestowed on her as a consolation a dowry of 1,000,000 sesterces.

LXXXVII. As the populace was beginning to complain of the exorbitant cost of corn, Tiberius fixed the price which the purchaser was to pay, and at the same time undertook to compensate the dealers with a bounty of two sesterces per peck. He continued, notwithstanding, to refuse the title of "Father of the Fatherland" which had already been offered to him on previous occasions, and he severely reprimanded those who styled his functions divine, and who saluted him as "Master." Thus speech could follow but a strait and slippery path under a prince who feared freedom but detested flattery.

LXXXVIII. I find in the contemporary historians and in the memoirs of senators of this period that a letter was read in the Senate from Adgandestrius, chief of the Chatti, in which he promised to procure the death of Arminius if the poison requisite for his murderous design were sent him; and that the reply given to him was that the Roman people did not avenge themselves upon their enemies by treachery and in the dark, but openly and with arms in their hands. This magnanimous reply enabled Tiberius to compare himself with the commanders of old who forbade the poisoning of Pyrrhus and disclosed to that king the plot against his life.

After the evacuation of his country by the Romans and the expulsion of Maroboduus, Arminius attempted to make himself king, but he found the independent spirit of his countrymen opposed to his designs. He was attacked, and, while carrying on the contest with variable success, fell a victim to the treachery of his kinsfolk. Arminius was without question the liberator of Germany. Unlike other kings and chieftains, he delivered his unceasing assaults, not on the Roman people in the early stages of their development, but upon the Empire at the height of its power. Defeated sometimes in battle, he was never conquered. He lived thirty-seven years, during

twelve of which he was in the plenitude of his power. The native races sing his praises to this day : Greek historians, whose admiration is confined to their own land and people, ignore him : and he has received less attention than he merits at the hands of the Romans, who are as enthusiastic over ancient history as they are indifferent to the events of our own times.

BOOK III

A.D. 20-22

I. ALTHOUGH winter had now set in, Agrippina continued her voyage without interruption until she arrived at the island of Coreyra, opposite the shores of Calabria. A.D. 20. There she spent a few days in order to restore some degree of calm to her mind; for her grief had driven her to frenzy, and she could not bring herself to acquiesce in the decree of fate. Meanwhile, at the first news of her expected arrival, all her intimate friends and a great number of military men, especially such as had served under Germanicus, and even many strangers from the towns in the vicinity, some because they fancied they would thereby be showing respect to the Emperor, most of them merely following the example of the others, flocked to Brundisium, which was the nearest and safest place to land. As soon as the fleet appeared on the horizon, the harbour, the sea just outside, and even the city ramparts, the roofs of the houses, and in short every place from which a good view could be obtained, were filled with crowds of mourners, who asked one another again and yet again whether, when Agrippina disembarked, they should receive her in silence or with some words of salutation. Before they had quite decided what would be appropriate to the occasion, the fleet slowly approached the shore. In place of the cheerful merriment which usually prevails among the crews of a homeward bound fleet, all on board wore an expression of grief and sadness. When Agrippina stepped from the ship with her two children, bearing the funeral urn in her arms, and with her eyes fixed upon the ground, there arose a universal groan, in which none could distinguish friends from strangers, or the

lamentations of the men from the lamentations of the women ; only Agrippina's retinue, exhausted by their long period of mourning, were outdone by those who had come to meet them and whose grief was of more recent date.¹

II. The Emperor had sent two cohorts of the praetorian guards, and had also given instructions to the local officers of Calabria, Apulia, and Campania to pay their last respects to the memory of his son. His ashes therefore were borne on the shoulders of tribunes and centurions, preceded by unadorned standards and fasces reversed. When the procession passed through the several townships, the populace appeared in black and the knights in their robes of State ; and every community in proportion to its wealth burnt vestments and incense and other customary funeral offerings. Even the inhabitants of places which lay off the route came to meet the cortège, sacrificed victims, and set up altars to the gods of the Lower World, and by their tears and acclamations bore witness to the reality of their grief. Drusus, accompanied by Claudius, the brother of Germanicus, and such of the dead man's children as had remained in Rome, proceeded to Tarracina. The consuls, M. Valerius and C. Aurelius, who had just entered upon their term of office, the Senate, and a great number of the people crowded the route, and occupied various scattered positions, their tears flowing unchecked and at no man's bidding ; for adulation had no part in their sorrow, since all knew the ill-disguised satisfaction which the death of Germanicus had brought to Tiberius.

III. Tiberius and Augusta refused to appear in public, either because they considered it beneath their dignity to give vent to their lamentations in sight of the world, or because they feared that the curious gaze of every beholder might read in their faces the falseness of their hearts. With regard to Antonia, the mother of Germanicus, I cannot find, either in the historians of the period or in the daily gazettes,²

¹ The landing of Agrippina with the ashes of Germanicus is represented in Turner's well-known picture in the National Gallery.

² This gazette was instituted in the first consulship of Julius Caesar. It was in the nature of a court journal, and contained also an account of the principal proceedings in the law courts, important events, and probably obituary notices.

any mention of her as taking part in any public ceremony ; whereas, in addition to Agrippina, Drusus, and Claudius, all the other relatives are specified by name. Possibly ill-health prevented her attendance, or it may be that she was so overcome by grief that she could not bring herself to endure the sight of her overwhelming affliction : but to my mind the more intelligible explanation is that, as Tiberius and Augusta did not themselves leave the Palace, they determined to keep her indoors, in order that they might appear to share her grief, and that the mother's absence might justify the absence of the uncle and the grandmother.

IV. The day on which the remains were conveyed to the tomb of Augustus was a day of sullen silence, broken only by cries of grief and moments of unrest. In the city the streets were full of people, and the Campus Martius gleamed with the light of torches. There, soldiers in arms, officials without the insignia of their rank, and the populace in their several tribes, assembled ; all exclaiming that now the republic had fallen, and that their last hope was gone ; so openly and so boldly that it might have been supposed that they had forgotten their imperial masters. Nothing, however, affected Tiberius to the same extent as the outburst of popular enthusiasm for Agrippina, who was hailed as the country's chief glory, as the sole descendant of Augustus with the true blood in her veins, as the one and only surviving representative of the ancient virtues of the race, and on whose behalf prayers and supplications were addressed to Heaven to preserve her children and to deliver them from their persecutors.

V. There were some who missed the pomp and splendour usually associated with a public funeral, and who contrasted the obsequies of Germanicus with all the magnificence and all the marks of respect which characterised the funeral accorded by Augustus to his father Drusus. "Augustus," they said, "had gone himself in the depth of winter as far as Ticinum, and had entered Rome with the body, which he never left for a moment : the bier had been surrounded by busts of the Claudii and Julii : he had been publicly mourned in the Forum and eulogised from the Rostra : every kind of honour to the departed, in-

stituted in ancient, or devised by modern times, had been showered upon Drusus ; whereas Germanicus had not even received the customary honours which were due to every man of noble descent. It might be true enough that the long journey to Rome made it imperative for the body to be cremated, as best it could be, in a foreign land ; but it was only right that all the more marks of respect should afterwards have been shown to his remains, because chance had withheld them at the first. His brother," they complained, "had gone no farther than one day's journey to meet him, his uncle not even as far as the city gates." "Where," they asked, "were all those ancient ceremonials, the effigy of the deceased at the head of the funeral couch, the hymns composed to the memory of his virtues, the panegyrics and the tears, or at least the outward and visible signs of grief ? "

VI. Tiberius was conscious of these complaints, and in order to stifle the popular outcry he issued an edict, in which he pointed out that, though many of the most illustrious of the Romans had died for their country, none had been so universally or so passionately mourned. "This ebullition of sentiment," he said, "was creditable alike to himself and to them all, provided it were confined within proper limits. For the great men of a nation and an imperial people could not indulge in displays of emotion, which would not be unbecoming to households and to States of humble degree. While their affliction was still fresh in their hearts there had been no unseemliness in their mourning, and they had derived consolation from the expression of their grief : but the time had now arrived when they should recover their usual strength of mind, just as in time past Julius, after the death of his only daughter, and Augustus, after the loss of his two grandsons, had resolutely banished sorrow from their hearts. There was no need to quote earlier examples : how often had the Roman people endured with firmness disasters to their armies, the loss of their generals, the complete extinction of their noble families ! Princes were mortal : but the State was eternal." He therefore urged them to resume their wonted occupations, and, since the annual celebration of the games of the

Megalesia³ was at hand, even to betake themselves once again to their recreations.

VII. The period of mourning was thus brought to an end, the people returned to their various duties, and Drusus set out to join the army in Illyria. The Roman world was now feverishly waiting for the vengeance in store for Piso, and frequent were the complaints against the policy which permitted this man to remain all this time at large, enjoying the amenities of Asia and Achæa, and impudently employing the respite, which his cunning had obtained for him, in undermining the evidence which would establish his guilt. For it was rumoured that Martina, the notorious poisoner who, as I have related, had been sent from Syria by Cn. Sentius, had met with a sudden death at Brundisium, that poison had been discovered concealed in a knot of her hair, and that her body exhibited no indication of suicide.

VIII. Be that as it may, Piso, having sent on his son to Rome with instructions to endeavour to appease the Emperor's wrath, went himself to see Drusus, whom he expected to find not so much exasperated by the death of his brother, as grateful for the removal of a rival. In order to display his unbiassed judgment, Tiberius received the young Piso with kindness and bestowed on him the generous gifts which he usually lavished on the sons of noble families. The reply of Drusus to Piso was that, if the current reports were true, his grief would make him the first to demand vengeance, but that he would much prefer that those reports should be proved to be false and without foundation, and that he had no desire to make the death of Germanicus the cause of any man's ruin. This reply was given publicly, all private communication being avoided; and none doubted that Drusus had received instructions to that effect from Tiberius, for the employment of artifices such as a ripe experience might have suggested was altogether foreign to the usual simplicity and candour of the young prince's disposition.

IX. Piso, having crossed the Dalmatian Sea⁴ and left his ships at Ancona, passed through Picenum and then along

³ See Dict.

⁴ *i. e.* The Adriatic.

the Flaminian Road, where he overtook a legion which was returning from Pannonia to Rome, whence it was to be sent to garrison the province of Africa. This circumstance gave rise to wild stories of his having deliberately attracted the attention of the troops during the march and at frequent points in the journey. After leaving Narnia, either with the object of avoiding suspicion or on account of the irresolution which generally accompanies timidity, he embarked on board ship and sailed down the Nar and then down the Tiber. The popular fury was redoubled when he landed at the tomb of the Caesars, and when, in broad daylight and at a time when the river-bank was crowded with people, Piso, followed by a large retinue of dependants, and Plancina, by a number of women, proceeded homewards with cheerful, smiling faces. The indignation of the populace was intensified by the appearance of their house which, though overlooking the Forum, was gaily decorated for the occasion, by the banquets and entertainments provided for their guests, and by the publicity which the situation of their residence gave to all their proceedings.

X. On the following day Fulcinus Trio petitioned the consuls for permission to arraign Piso. Vitellius and Veranius, however, with the other companions of Germanicus, urged that Trio had no right to intervene, and protested that, instead of appearing as prosecutors, they intended merely to act the part of witnesses and depositaries of the instructions of Germanicus. Trio accordingly consented to waive his claim to undertake this part of the prosecution, but obtained leave to prefer charges against Piso in respect of earlier episodes in his career. The Emperor was requested to try the case; and the accused himself raised no objection to this proposal, for what he most dreaded was the bias of a popular tribunal or of the Senate against him; whereas Tiberius, he knew, was strong enough to refuse to attach any credence to mere report, and was moreover involved by his mother's complicity. He recognised too that, while a single judge can readily distinguish the truth from the flights of a prejudiced imagination, a court composed of a number of members is apt to be swayed by motives of hostility and dislike.

Tiberius, however, was fully aware of the awkward position in which he would be placed if the case were to be heard by him, and of the sinister reports which were being spread by his detractors. He therefore summoned a few intimate friends, and after listening to the denunciations of the prosecution and the pleadings of the defence, remitted the whole case to the Senate.

XI. Drusus in the meantime had returned from Illyria, and although the Senate had decreed him a triumph to celebrate the submission of Maroboduus and the successes of the previous summer, he decided to postpone his acceptance of the compliment and entered the city without it.

Piso next requested L. Arruntius, M. Vinicius, Asinius Gallus, Aeserninus Marcellus, and Sextus Pompeius to undertake his defence, and when all of them excused themselves on various pretexts, Manius Lepidus, L. Piso, and Livineius Regulus consented to appear on his behalf. The whole community was in a fever of excitement to see how far the loyalty of Germanicus' friends or the confidence of the accused would be justified, and how far Tiberius would succeed in restraining and suppressing his own feelings. On no other occasion have the people ever shown such eagerness or permitted themselves to indulge to such an extent in whispered invective against the Emperor or in suspicious silence.

XII. When the Senate met, the Emperor delivered a speech which was remarkable for its studied moderation. "Piso," he said, "had been the nominee and the friend of his father, and he himself with the concurrence of the Senate had appointed him to assist Germanicus in the Eastern Administration. Whether, holding that position, he had merely exasperated the young prince by his insubordination and contentiousness and rejoiced in his death, or whether he had criminally contrived his destruction, must be left to their unbiassed judgment to decide. If," he proceeded, "an official transgresses the limitations of his office, permits himself to forget the obedience due to his chief, and rejoices in that same chief's death and in my bereavement, he will earn my hatred, I shall forbid him my house, and I shall seek such revenge as will satisfy my private

feud, without invoking the aid of my imperial power. But if the crime of compassing the murder of any human being, whoever he may be, is brought to light and calls for vengeance, then I ask you to grant to the children of Germanicus and to us, his parents, the satisfaction which is our due. At the same time carefully consider this question : were Piso's dealings with the army really seditious and mutinous ; did he endeavour to bribe the troops into supporting him ; did he seek to recover possession of the province by force of arms ; or are these reports merely the inventions or exaggerations of his accusers, with whose excess of zeal I am justly indignant ? For what was the object which they thought to gain by exposing his corpse, by allowing it to be contaminated by the vulgar gaze, by giving publicity, even among foreign nations, to the suggestion that he died from the effects of poison, if this is a question which as yet remains unanswered and still requires investigation ? As for me, I mourn for my son, and shall ever mourn for him ; but I will do nothing to prevent the accused from producing all the evidence by which his innocence may be established, or by which the fault of Germanicus, if Germanicus was in any way to blame, may be substantiated. And I beseech you, because my own affliction is inseparable from this case, do not for that reason regard as proven charges which as yet are only allegations. To those of you who are moved by ties of kinship or by loyal friendship to undertake his defence I say—support him in the hour of his peril by all the eloquence and all the energy at your command. His prosecutors I exhort to show themselves equally painstaking and equally persevering. For Germanicus' sake we shall have superseded the laws in one respect, and in one respect only, which is, that the inquiry with regard to his death is being conducted in this Chamber instead of in the Forum, and before the Senate instead of before the Courts. See that a similar moderation is displayed elsewhere. See that no man regards the tears of Drusus, or my own sorrow, or the calumnies with which we may be assailed."

XIII. It was next decided that two days should be allowed for stating the case for the prosecution, and that

after an interval of six days, three days should be assigned for the defence. Fulcinus opened the proceedings with a futile attack upon Piso's early career, charging him with corruption and rapacity during his tenure of office in Spain—a charge which, if proved, could not possibly damage the accused provided that he cleared himself of the allegations in respect of his recent conduct, and, if rebutted, could not secure his acquittal if he were convicted on the more serious counts of the indictment. Fulcinus was followed by Servaeus, Veranius, and Vitellius, and though the same earnest purpose characterised the speeches of all of them, that of Vitellius was distinguished for its remarkable eloquence. Their allegations were:—that Piso, actuated by hatred of Germanicus and by revolutionary aspirations, had, by conniving at their excesses and their outrages upon the natives of dependent States, so corrupted the mass of the troops as to have earned for himself, in the mouths of the worst men in the army, the name of “Parent of the Legions”: that he had behaved with ruthless severity towards the best of the soldiers and especially towards the friends and adherents of Germanicus: that he had ended by killing Germanicus by means of magic and poison: that both he and Plancina had been guilty of participating in unholy rites and sacrifices after the death of Germanicus: that he had taken up arms against the State: and that in order to bring him to justice it had been necessary first to defeat him in battle.

XIV. The defence broke down on every point but one. The charge of corrupting the troops, of exposing the province to the excesses of a licentious soldiery, and of insolence and insubordination towards the commander-in-chief, could not be denied. The sole charge of which the accused appeared to have cleared himself was that of poisoning Germanicus. The allegations of the prosecution on this point were in fact far from convincing, their case being that Piso, when dining with Germanicus and seated next above him at table, had with his own hands put poison into the food. It seemed, however, monstrous to suppose that, surrounded by another man's slaves, in the sight of a crowd of witnesses, and under the eyes of Germanicus

himself, he would have dared to do such a thing. The accused, moreover, offered to submit his own slaves, and demanded that the servants of Germanicus should be submitted, to question under torture. His judges, however, were for divers reasons inexorable; the Emperor because Piso had plunged the province into war, the Senate because they could never bring themselves to believe that Germanicus' death was not due to treachery. A demand was made for the production of certain alleged communications, but was resisted as strenuously by Tiberius as by Piso himself. By this time the populace could be heard outside the doors of the Senate House shouting that they would give the culprit short shrift if he escaped condemnation by the Senate. They had already dragged the statues of Piso to the Gemonian Steps and would have broken them to pieces, had not the Emperor given orders for them to be protected and restored to their proper places. Piso was placed in a litter and escorted home by a tribune of a praetorian cohort, whose mission was, according to one report, to ensure Piso's immunity from popular violence, or, according to another report, to superintend his execution.

XV. Plancina, though she had incurred as much odium as Piso, could command greater influence than her husband; so much so that it was considered doubtful how far the Emperor would have a free hand in dealing with her. So long as Piso had still reasonable hopes of his ultimate acquittal, she protested that she would share his fate whatever it might be, and, if it had to be so, would go with him to his doom. But when, by the secret intercession of Augusta, she had secured her own pardon, she began to detach herself gradually from her husband and to put forward a separate and distinct defence. The accused man comprehended that his wife's desertion meant that he was to be abandoned to his fate, and he doubted the use of making any further attempt to save himself; but yielding to the exhortations of his sons he steeled himself for a supreme effort and went again before the Senate. The prosecution was renewed: he heard the angry voices of the senators: he found himself assailed on all sides by unrelenting hostility. All this he endured. But the final

blow, which drove him to the extremity of despair, was the sight of Tiberius, who without a sign either of pity or of anger remained absolutely impassive and obstinately inaccessible to any emotion. Piso had himself carried home, and feigning to be preparing his defence for the following day, wrote a few lines, sealed them, and handed them to a freedman; after which he refreshed himself in the usual manner. Late in the night, his wife having left the bed-chamber, he ordered the door to be closed; and at daybreak he was found with his throat cut and his sword lying on the ground by his side.

XVI. I remember having heard my elders say that a paper was constantly to be seen in Piso's hands, the contents of which he himself never divulged, but which, his friends asserted, embodied the letters and instructions of Tiberius with respect to Germanicus; and that he had resolved to produce this document in the Senate and so confute the Emperor, and would have done so, had he not been tricked by the false promises of Sejanus: further, that he did not voluntarily seek death at his own hands, but that an assassin was employed to murder him. I cannot affirm the truth of either of these statements: at the same time I should not have felt justified in suppressing a version of the story given me by contemporaries of Piso who survived to the days of my youth. Caesar, affecting an appearance of grief, complained before the Senate that the manner of Piso's death was calculated to bring odium upon himself, and he questioned Piso's freedman closely as to the manner in which his master had spent his last day and night. The freedman's answers were in the main discreet enough, but when he made a few unguarded replies Tiberius read a memorandum written by Piso, the gist of which was as follows:—"Overwhelmed by a conspiracy of my enemies and by the burden of a false and rancorous charge, and inasmuch as truth and my own innocence cannot assert themselves, I call upon Heaven to witness that all my life I have evinced nothing but fidelity to you, Caesar, and no less dutiful respect towards your mother; and I appeal to both of you on behalf of my sons, begging you to remember that, whatever my proceedings may have been,

Cnæus has been entirely dissociated from them, inasmuch as all this time he has been living in Rome, and that Marcus did his best to dissuade me from returning to Syria. Would to Heaven that I had yielded to the entreaties of my young son, instead of the son submitting to the decision of his old father ! All the more earnestly therefore do I entreat you not to exact from him the penalty for my wrongdoing, of which he is innocent. In consideration of five and forty years of devotion, as your former colleague in the consulship, as a man who won the esteem of your father Augustus, as your friend, and as one who will never ask you another favour, I beseech you to spare my unfortunate son." The document did not contain a single word touching Plancina.

XVII. Tiberius then acquitted Marcus Piso of the crime of participating in civil war, on the ground that he had acted only upon his father's commands, which he could not have disobeyed. At the same time he deplored the misfortune which had befallen a noble house, and Piso's own terrible end, however he might have deserved it. On behalf of Plancina he spoke with an apparent sense of shame and humiliation, professing to be yielding to the entreaties of his mother, against whom the secret resentment of every good Roman was now more than ever inflamed. "It was right and proper, it seemed, for a grandmother to see and hold converse with the murderess of her grand-son, and to snatch her from the vengeance of the Senate ! What the laws secured for every citizen was refused to Germanicus alone ! When Vitellius and Veranius wept for a Caesar, the Emperor and Augusta defended—Plancina ! Why stop there ? why not direct her poisons, and the arts she had so successfully employed, against Agrippina and her children, and so satiate this tender grandmother and uncle with the blood of that most unhappy family ?" Two days were occupied by this mock trial, during which Tiberius urged Piso's sons to defend their mother. But when the prosecutors and the witnesses vied with one another in bringing charges against her and nobody replied on her behalf, the resentment against her gave way to a growing feeling of commiseration. Aurelius Cotta the consul, who was the

first member called upon to give his vote (for when the Emperor put the question, the officers of State also took part in the voting), proposed that the name of Piso should be erased from the register; that part of his estate should be confiscated, the remainder to be handed over to Cnaeus Piso, who should change his first name; that Marcus Piso should be deprived of his senatorial rank, receive 5,000,000 sesterces, and be banished for ten years; and that Plancina should be pardoned, as a concession to the entreaties of Augusta.

XVIII. The Emperor substantially reduced the severity of the proposed sentence. He protested against the exclusion of the name of Piso from the register, when the names of M. Antonius, who had made war on his country, and of Jullus Antonius, who had dishonoured the house of Augustus, were allowed to remain. Moreover, he rescued Marcus Piso from the disgrace which it was proposed to inflict upon him, and left him in possession of his father's property. For Tiberius, as I have often remarked, was not avariciously inclined, and the sense of humiliation from which he suffered in consequence of the acquittal of Plancina disposed him to clemency. Similarly, when Valerius Messalinus proposed that a golden statue should be set up in the Temple of Mars the Avenger, and Caecina Severus suggested that an altar should be erected to Vengeance,⁵ Tiberius vetoed these proposals, saying that such memorials were only for the purpose of celebrating victories over the foreign enemies of Rome, and that domestic misfortunes should be concealed under a veil of sadness. Messalinus had further proposed that Tiberius, Augusta, Antonia, Agrippina, and Drusus should be formally thanked for having avenged Germanicus. As he made no mention of Claudius, L. Asprenas questioned him in the Senate as to whether the omission was intentional; and so in the end Claudius' name was added to the list. The more I reflect on the course of events in modern or in ancient history, the more singular do those caprices of fortune appear which seem to affect the destiny of a man in every transaction in which he plays a part. The last man who, judged by his

⁵ See note to Book I. ch. 14.

reputation, his prospects, or the public respect, seemed likely ever to be called to the throne was the future Emperor whom Fate at this time was hiding in obscurity.

XIX. A few days later Caesar moved in the Senate that priesthoods should be conferred on Vitellius, Veranius, and Servaeus. In promising to support Fulcinus in his candidature for public offices by his own vote, he cautioned him against allowing his violence to mar his eloquence.

Thus ended the series of proceedings by which Germanicus was to be avenged. His death was the subject of much controversy not only among his contemporaries, but in succeeding generations also: so wrapped in obscurity are all events of importance, owing partly to the pernicious habit which some men adopt of treating mere gossip as ascertained fact, and partly to the deliberate falsification of which others are guilty; two sources of error which are magnified in after ages.

Drusus, who had left the city for the purpose of taking the auspices again, now re-entered it in triumph. A few days afterwards his mother Vipsania died, the only one of the children of Agrippa who escaped a violent death. All the others either were known to have perished by the sword or were believed to have died of poison or starvation.

XX. In the same year Tacfarinas, who, as I have related, had been routed by Camillus in the previous summer,⁶ renewed hostilities in Africa. Confining his operations at first to marauding expeditions which, owing to the rapidity of his movements, it was impossible to punish, he next proceeded to sack the villages and to carry off large quantities of plunder. Finally he surrounded a Roman cohort not far from the river Pagyda. The commander of this post was Decrius, an energetic and experienced soldier, who felt keenly the disgrace of being thus besieged. Having exhorted his troops to offer to fight in the open, he deployed them in front of the entrenchments. The cohort was routed at the first onslaught. Their commander amidst a shower of missiles gallantly endeavoured to arrest their flight, crying angrily to the standard-bearers that it was a disgrace for Roman soldiers to flee before a mob of

⁶ This is an error: the campaign of Camillus was in A.D. 17.

savages and deserters. Though covered with wounds and with one eye pierced by a spear, he kept his face to the foe, and refused to retire from the fight; and at last, deserted by his men, he fell dead on the field.

XXI. On receiving information of this disaster, L. Apronius, the successor of Camillus, more concerned by the disgrace of his countrymen than by the success of the enemy, determined to inflict upon the dishonoured cohort a punishment which was rarely resorted to at this period and the severity of which was more in accordance with the obsolete traditions of the service: one in every ten men, chosen by lot, was condemned to be flogged to death. So efficacious was this act of retribution that the same body of Tacfarinas' troops, having attacked a post at a place called Thala, was defeated by a company of not more than 500 veterans. In this action Rufus Helvius, a common soldier, distinguished himself by saving the life of a Roman citizen. Apronius rewarded his gallantry by bestowing upon him the usual collars and headless spear,⁷ to which the Emperor added the civic crown,⁷ which Apronius by virtue of his proconsular privileges might also have conferred on him; and though Tiberius formally complained of his omission to do so, he was probably more pleased than offended thereby.

Tacfarinas, recognising that the Numidians were disheartened and seeing that they were unwilling to face the difficulties and dangers of siege operations, determined to carry on a guerilla warfare, retiring whenever he was hard pressed, and then returning and harassing our rear-guard. As long as he followed these tactics he could laugh at the efforts of the weary and baffled Romans. But when he turned towards the coast, and when, hampered by his booty, he was forced to remain stationary within his encampment, Apronius Caesianus was despatched by his father with the cavalry and the auxiliary cohorts, reinforced by the lightest companies of the legionaries, and

⁷ The headless spear was given as a reward for acts of great gallantry in the field. The civic crown, which was made of oak-leaves, was the reward for saving the life of a Roman citizen in battle.

succeeded in routing the Numidians and driving them into the desert.

XXII. In Rome about this time Lepida, who, besides belonging to the illustrious family of the Aemilii, was also the great-granddaughter of L. Sulla and Cn. Pompeius, was accused of having attempted to pass off a supposititious child as the child of P. Quirinus, a rich man with no offspring. She was further charged with adultery, with poisoning, and with having consulted astrologers with regard to the fate of members of Caesar's family. She was defended by her brother, Manius Lepidus. Guilty and discredited though she was, the vindictiveness with which Quirinus pursued her even after her divorce excited popular sympathy on her behalf. What the real sentiments of the Emperor were in regard to this case, it is not easy to discover; so inconsistent was his seeming anger with the apparent clemency with which it alternated or with which it was combined. Having first begged the Senate not to take cognisance of the charge of treason, he proceeded to incite M. Servilius, one of the ex-consuls, and other witnesses to prefer accusations against Lepida which he had previously affected to be desirous of hushing up. At the same time he transferred Lepida's slaves who were in military custody to the charge of the consuls, and refused to allow them to be examined under torture with regard to matters appertaining to the imperial household. Moreover he excused Drusus, though consul-elect, from voting first—a concession, some thought, to the principle of liberty, granted for the purpose of relieving the other members from the necessity of following Drusus' lead. Some, on the other hand, suspected a relentless severity as the underlying motive of this apparent concession, which, they contended, the Emperor would not have made, except with the intention of devolving upon others the duty of condemning the accused.

XXIII. On the days during which the trial was interrupted by the annual games Lepida repaired to the theatre, accompanied by women of the highest rank and position. Her sobs, her lamentations, and her invocations to the spirits of her ancestors and to the great Pompeius himself,

who had built this very theatre and whose busts were visible everywhere, so excited the sympathies of the audience that they burst into tears and showered maledictions upon the head of Quirinus, whom they stigmatised as a childless dotard of the meanest origin to whom this woman, once destined to be the wife of L. Caesar and the daughter-in-law of the Great Augustus, had been so ruthlessly sacrificed. Eventually Lepida's slaves revealed under torture the crimes of which their mistress was guilty, and upon the motion of Rubellius Blandus she was sentenced by the Senate to banishment. Drusus voted for the motion, although others had spoken in favour of proposals for a more lenient sentence. Out of consideration for Seaurus, who had a daughter by her, her property was not confiscated. Only after the promulgation of the sentence did Tiberius publish the fact that he had also ascertained from the slaves of P. Quirinus that Lepida had attempted to poison their master.

XXIV. Some consolation for the misfortunes which had lately befallen two illustrious houses (for the Calpurnii had lost Piso only a short time before the Aemilii lost Lepida) was afforded by the restoration of D. Silanus to the family of the Junii. His history I can relate in a few words.

The good fortune, which proved so powerful an ally to Augustus in his attack upon the liberty of the State, deserted him in his private life. He was greatly troubled by the licentiousness of his daughter and his grand-daughter, whose paramours he punished with exile or death. For by denominating as a crime of sacrilege and treason an offence which is common enough in the relations of the two sexes, he abandoned the indulgent attitude of our ancestors to this offence and exceeded the limits of the penalties prescribed by his own statutes. I will, however, record the fate of other offenders and the other events of this epoch when I have completed the task which I have set myself, if I am granted the length of life sufficient for the inception of a fresh undertaking. As for D. Silanus, although his intrigue with the grand-daughter of Augustus procured for him no harsher sentence than the renunciation of the Emperor's friendship, he understood that it was intended

that he should go into exile, and it was not until the reign of Tiberius that he ventured to appeal to the clemency of the Emperor and the Senate. His appeal owed its success principally to the influence of his brother M. Silanus, who was as distinguished for his eloquence as for the nobility of his descent. When Marcus expressed his thanks, Tiberius replied before the whole Senate that he too rejoiced at his brother's return from his residence abroad, and that he was legally entitled to the privilege which had been accorded to him because he had not been banished by any decree of the Senate or by the operation of the laws; but that at the same time he could not consent to forego the displeasure which his offences had caused his father, and which his father had transmitted to him, or to allow the wishes of Augustus to be cancelled by Silanus' return. Henceforth Silanus lived in Rome, but never acquired any office in the public service.

XXV. A proposal was next submitted to the Senate for relaxing the stringent provisions of the *Lex Papia Poppea*,^s which Augustus in his latter days had sanctioned, as supplementary to the *Lex Julia*, with the double object of penalising celibacy and enriching the Treasury. Owing, however, to the superior advantages enjoyed by those who remained without children, these statutes failed to encourage marriage and the bringing up of children, while the numbers of those who were imperilled by their operation was very much on the increase; for, as interpreted by the informers, they became a tool with which the security of every household was menaced, and the laws proved no less obnoxious than the evils which they were designed to repress.

I feel constrained by the above reflection to offer some observations upon the origin of law and the causes which have produced the infinite number and variety of the statutes under which we now live.

XXVI. In the earliest history of the human race, when evil

^s Passed in A.D. 9. The loss of life in the civil wars made it very necessary for Julius and Augustus to encourage marriage and the rearing of children. For an excursus on this law, see Furneaux, *Annals*, p. 483 *et seq.*

passions were as yet unknown, men lived a life that was free from crime and therefore free also from penalties and from every kind of constraint. There was no necessity for rewards, since virtue was practised for its own sake ; and inasmuch as men had no desire which conflicted with the principles of morality, they were forbidden nothing by fear of the consequences of their actions. But when equality was discarded, and ambition and force took the place of modesty and moderation, despotisms were established, which among many races have lasted ever since. Some nations at the outset, others not until they had grown weary of their kings, declared their preference for the rule of laws. At first these laws were very simple and such as befitted the rude races which adopted them. The most celebrated are those which Minos gave to the Cretans, those which Lycurgus gave to the Spartans, and, at a later date, the more elaborate and complete code devised by Solon for the Athenians. In our own country Romulus, our first king, ruled as he pleased. Numa, who succeeded him, imposed on the people the restraint of religion and of divine laws. Certain broad principles were enunciated by Tullus and Ancus. But the most pre-eminent of our legislators was Servius Tullius, who established laws by which even our kings were to be bound.

XXVII. After the expulsion of Tarquin the Commons devised numerous safeguards to protect their liberties from the aggression of the patricians and to establish harmony between the different classes ; and decenvirs were created, who, taking all that was best in other codes, drew up the Twelve Tables. This was the close of impartial legislation. For the laws which followed these, although sometimes directed against malefactors whose offences called for repression, were more often the violent products of class dissensions, of an ambition to acquire offices of State, to which the aspirants possessed no lawful claim, of a desire to banish illustrious fellow-citizens, or of other equally unworthy motives. After this we find demagogues and agitators, like the Gracchi and Saturninus, coming into prominence ; we find Drusus making similar concessions

in the name of the Senate; and we find the Allies⁹ first bribed by promises and then baulked by the tribune's veto. Neither during the Italian war nor during the civil war which succeeded it was there any respite from the enactment of innumerable and contradictory measures, until L. Sulla the dictator, having repealed or amended the earlier enactments and having added several of his own, called a truce, which, however, was of short duration. For the death of Sulla was immediately followed by the seditious proposals of Lepidus, and shortly afterwards the tribunes were again given full liberty to foment such agitations as they pleased. By this time, besides such laws as affected the community at large, the practice had grown up of passing special enactments directed against individual citizens;¹⁰ and legislation was never more prolific than in the days when the State was most corrupt.

XXVIII. In his third consulship Cnaeus Pompeius was charged with the task of reforming public morals and restoring public order;¹¹ but his remedies were more obnoxious than the ills they were designed to cure, and, after deliberate infringements of the laws of which he was himself the author, the power which he maintained by force of arms, by force of arms was wrested from him. Then followed twenty years of civil discord, in which neither law nor custom was observed, and in which the basest crimes went unpunished, while uprightness and integrity often brought ruin upon those who still practised such virtues.¹² At length in his sixth consulship Caesar Augustus, having finally established his power, repealed all the measures which he had passed when triumvir, and con-

⁹ *i.e.* The Italian cities. The short-sighted policy of Rome in withholding from them the franchise resulted in the Social War.

¹⁰ *e.g.* The banishment of Cicero in B.C. 58 by the law of Clodius.

¹¹ Necessitated by the violence at the recent elections, and the Milo and Clodius riots.

¹² The twenty years—from B.C. 48 to B.C. 28—include the dictatorship of Julius Caesar. It is surprising to find Tacitus characterising the whole of this period as a period of anarchy, and omitting all reference to the famous Julian Legislation.

ferred on Rome a constitution under which we might enjoy the blessings of peace—and a prince.

From this moment the bonds of authority were drawn tighter ; spies were set to watch the citizens and, under the operation of the *Lex Papia Poppaea*, were encouraged by the hope of rewards to see that, if ever the privileges of a parent were renounced, the people, as the common parent of all, acquired the vacant inheritance. The informers, however, outstripped the lagging law : they attacked with avidity Rome, Italy, and every corner of the Empire, and many a citizen was bereft of his fortune. Every household was menaced by their sinister designs. But Tiberius, to allay the general terror which they had created, appointed a commission to devise some remedy. This commission, which was composed of five ex-consuls, five ex-praetors, and five other senators, selected by lot, unravelled many of the intricacies of the statute, and thereby afforded a partial and temporary relief.

XXIX. About this time the Emperor recommended to the Senate Nero, one of the children of Germanicus, who had just reached manhood, and requested that he might be exempted from the duty of serving as a *vigintivir*¹³ and be allowed to become a candidate for the quaestorship five years earlier than the legal age. The Emperor's request was received with some derision. He declared that a similar concession had been granted to himself and his brother upon the petition of Augustus. But I have no doubt that even under Augustus there were some to whom the solicitation of such a favour by the Emperor seemed a ridiculous absurdity, although at that time the power of the Caesars was only at its commencement, the traces of the old régime had not yet become so obliterated as they were under Tiberius, and, moreover, the claims of two stepsons on their step-father were slighter than those of a grandson upon his grandfather. In addition to these concessions, Nero received a priesthood, and on the day on which he made his first entry into the Forum largesses were distributed among the city populace, to whom the considera-

¹³ See Dict.

tion that a son of Germanicus had attained to man's estate was peculiarly gratifying. The popular rejoicing was redoubled by the marriage of Nero to Julia, the daughter of Drusus. But if this alliance met with general approval, the betrothal of the daughter of Sejanus to the son of Claudius was received with universal displeasure, and Tiberius was reproached with having sullied the nobility of his race and with having elevated Sejanus, who was already suspected of extravagant pretensions, to a position to which he should never have attained.

XXX. Two distinguished personages, L. Volusius and Sallustius Crispus, died at the end of the year. Volusius came of an ancient family, which, however, had never before risen to higher rank than the praetorship. He introduced a consulship into the family, performed the censorial function of revising the lists of the knights, and was the first to amass the immense fortune for which his house has since been so distinguished. Crispus, who was of equestrian origin, had been adopted by his great-uncle, C. Sallustius, the most illustrious of Roman historians. Though a successful public career was open to him, had he chosen to adopt it, he preferred to follow the example of Maecenas, and, without ever attaining senatorial rank, enjoyed greater influence than many a man who had won consulships and triumphs. The refinement and elegance of his style of living had nothing in common with old Roman habits, and his wealth and affluence made him appear somewhat of a voluptuary. Beneath the surface he possessed a vigorous mind, capable of transacting affairs of first-rate importance, and an intellect which was never keener than when he most affected somnolence and inertia. Second only to Maecenas, after the death of the latter he became the first of all who possessed the confidence of the Emperors, and was accordingly privy to the assassination of Agrippa Postumus. In his later years, while retaining the semblance, he lost the reality, of his friendship with the Emperor. The same thing happened to Maecenas: from which it would appear that influence is seldom destined to be retained by its possessor for ever, or else that princes are seized with satiety when they have no more favours

to bestow, and their favourites when there is nothing left for them to covet.

XXXI. The consulship of Tiberius and Drusus in the following year, in which Tiberius became consul for the fourth, and Drusus for the second time, was A.D. 21. remarkable for the fact that father and son were colleagues in the office. Two years previously Germanicus had enjoyed a similar distinction, but Tiberius took no pleasure in having his nephew as his colleague, and the bond of relationship was not as close as in the present instance.

At the beginning of the year Tiberius retired into Campania, ostensibly for the sake of his health, possibly because he was already contemplating his forthcoming long and continued absence from Rome, or, it may be, in order to leave Drusus the sole responsibility for discharging the duties of the consulship without his father's assistance. As it happened, an affair which was trivial enough in itself, but which assumed considerable proportions owing to the controversy which it excited, afforded the young prince an opportunity of acquiring the popular esteem. Domitius Corbulo, who was an ex-praetor, formally complained to the Senate of the conduct of Lucius Sulla, a young man of noble family, on the ground that Sulla had refused to yield him his place at a gladiatorial show. Corbulo had the advantage of age, of ancient precedent, and of the zealous support of the older men; but he met with strenuous opposition from Mamercus Scaurus, Lucius Arruntius, and other relatives of Sulla. There was a heated debate, in the course of which the practice of our forefathers was cited to show that they had passed several decrees which treated disrespect on the part of young men towards their elders as a serious offence. In the end Drusus succeeded in effecting a reconciliation, and Mamercus, who was Sulla's uncle and also his step-father, and the most copious orator of the period, was charged with the task of making due amends to Corbulo.

This same Corbulo, after frequently denouncing the disgraceful condition of the roads, most of which, owing to the fraudulence of the contractors and the negligence of the

officials, were in every part of Italy broken and impassable, was appointed to remedy the evils of which he complained. He undertook the duty with alacrity ; but the public advantage resulting therefrom was by no means so obvious as the ruin of the many individuals who were deprived of their fortunes and their reputations by the convictions and the confiscations with which he relentlessly pursued them.

XXXII. A short time afterwards Tiberius sent despatches to the Senate in which he informed them that Africa was once more in a ferment owing to the raids of Tacfarinas, and directed them to select a proconsul who possessed military experience and was physically fitted for conducting a war. Sextus Pompeius seized this occasion for ventilating his personal rancour towards Marcus Lepidus, whom he stigmatised as an indolent, needy person, who was a disgrace to his ancestors, and who accordingly ought to be deprived even of his allotted province of Asia. The Senate disagreed with Pompeius. They regarded Lepidus as a man of a gentle rather than a timid disposition, and they considered that, so far from dishonouring him, the manner in which he supported the poverty which he had inherited, without in any way tarnishing the nobility of his descent, was very much to his credit. Accordingly Lepidus was sent out to Asia. But with regard to Africa, it was decided to leave the Emperor to choose a governor who should take his instructions from him.

XXXIII. In the course of this discussion, Severus Caecina proposed that no magistrate, sent out to govern a province, should be permitted to be accompanied by his wife. He began with a long prefatory statement to the effect that complete harmony subsisted between himself and his own wife by whom he had six children, and that he had practised in his own family what he was now preaching for the benefit of the community, having consistently made his wife remain in Italy although he himself had served in several provinces through no less than forty campaigns. "It was not without good reason," he went on, "that our ancestors had determined to prohibit women

from being taken into allied or foreign countries. The presence of women with the troops was embarrassing in time of peace because of their luxurious habits, and in time of war on account of their natural timidity, and gave a Roman army the appearance of barbarians on the march. The female sex was not only physically feeble and incapable of enduring fatigue and hardships : given the opportunity, it became also cruel, intriguing, and ambitious. The women walked about among the soldiers, and the centurions were at their beck and call. Only lately a woman had presided over the evolutions of the cohorts and the manoeuvres of the legions. They would remember that whenever a man was accused of extortion, the gravest allegations were always against his wife. The most unprincipled of the provincials invariably attached themselves at the earliest opportunity to the wives of the officials ; matters of business were taken up and decided by these women. Instead of one, there were now two suites and two courts ; obedience was exacted to orders more peremptory and at the same time more capricious than those of any man ; and women, who in former days were subject to the restrictions imposed by the *Lex Æppia*¹⁴ and other statutes, had now burst their bonds and ruled supreme in the home, in the tribunals, and even in the armies."

XXXIV. Caecina's proposal met with small approbation. The majority of the members noisily objected that the motion was out of order and that Caecina was not the man to originate such a radical reform ; and Valerius Messalinus, who possessed some traces of the eloquence for which Messala, his father, was so distinguished, presently replied that " the conditions under which they lived had happily undergone a welcome change since the days of our ancestors, to whom a life of rigour and austerity was essential : Rome no longer had war at her gates, and the provinces were no longer infested by their foes. The slight concessions which were made to women's wants were scarcely a heavy strain even upon their husbands' purses ; they were certainly in no sense a tax upon the allies. Everything else they shared in common with their husbands,

¹⁴ Passed in B.C. 215.

and this could not be said to have resulted in any inconvenience in time of peace. In war, it was true, it was necessary to be free from encumbrances of every kind; but when they returned after the heat and labours of the day, where could they find a more fitting repose than in the society of their wives? It was said that some women had given way to ambition and avarice. But were not most of the officials, their husbands, the slaves of a multitude of evil desires? Yet that did not prevent men being sent out to the provinces. It was said again that the husbands were often corrupted by the vices of their wives. Were the morals of unmarried men beyond reproach? Legislation of the character of the *Lex Oppia* had been accepted without demur in former days, because the necessities of the State at that time demanded such restrictions: but in later days the rigorous nature of those restrictions had been properly relaxed to suit the conditions of modern life. It was futile to seek to disguise the weaknesses of their own sex under fictitious names, for if the wife was guilty of transgressions, the husband was to blame for it. What could be more unjust than to make the weakness of one or two individuals serve as a pretext for robbing husbands in general of those who were intended to share their prosperity and their adversity with them? The sex moreover was too frail to leave unprotected and exposed to the temptations of luxury and the desires of other men. If the husband's presence and the husband's constant watchfulness barely sufficed to keep the marriage ties from being broken, what would happen if those ties were loosened by several years of virtual separation? Abuses existing abroad they might very properly attack, but in doing so it was imperative that they should remember the vices which existed in Rome."

Drusus added a few words, instancing his own case. "The Emperors and their sons," he said, "were often called upon to visit remote quarters of the Empire. How often had the Great Augustus visited the East or the West, accompanied by Livia! He himself had been sent to Illyria, and, if it were expedient, he was ready to go to other countries, but he would not be able to go with in-

variable complacency, if he were to be torn from his beloved wife, the mother of his many children.”

Such was the manner in which Caecina's motion was shelved.

XXXV. At the next meeting a letter was read from Tiberius in which, after indirectly rebuking the Senate for referring every difficulty to the Emperor, he nominated Manius Lepidus and Junius Blaesus as candidates for the proconsulship of Africa. It was decided to hear what each had to say. Lepidus begged very earnestly to be excused, on the ground of his poor health, his children's time of life, and the fact that he had a daughter whose marriage had to be arranged. There was another reason which he did not mention, but which was universally understood, namely that Blaesus was the uncle of Sejanus and therefore too formidable as a rival. Blaesus made a pretence of refusing, but seeing that he did not persist as Lepidus had done, the sycophants agreed among themselves not to support his refusal.

XXXVI. A grave abuse, which had been causing general, but hitherto suppressed, dissatisfaction, was now publicly exposed. A pernicious system had been growing up of allowing any person, no matter how vile his character, free licence to assail honest men with insult and with calumny without fear of the consequences, provided that he sought sanctuary by seizing any bust or likeness of Caesar on which he could lay his hand. Even slaves now menaced their owners, and freedmen their former masters, with word or gesture, and were actually feared by those to whom they should have cringed. C. Cestius, a senator, accordingly made a speech in the Chamber in which he declared that “princes were indeed of the nature of gods, but gods listened only to lawful prayers and supplications, and that no man took refuge in the Capitol or any other temple in the city in order to mature his crimes under the shelter of their sanctuary. The laws must be dead or else reversed when a woman such as Annia Rufilla, whom he had had convicted of fraud, threatened and insulted him in the Forum and at the door of the Senate House, without his daring to demand justice because she shook an image of

Caesar in his face." Similar complaints were heard from every quarter of the Chamber, some of the members who clamoured round Drusus citing still more outrageous cases. He was entreated to make an example of Rufilla, and in the end he gave orders for her to be summoned, convicted, and confined in the public prison.

XXXVII. At the same time Considius Aequus and Caelius Cursor, two Roman knights, were, at the instance of Drusus and by decree of the Senate, punished for having brought false charges of treason against the praetor Magius Caecilianus.

The effect of his action in these two cases was to raise Drusus in the popular esteem. Living in Rome and taking a part in the assemblies and in the conversation of the city, he was credited with a disposition to mitigate the austerity of his morose father. Even his taste for luxury and pleasure was not regarded with much disfavour. Far better, it was said, that he should discover an inclination for such distractions, spending his days in watching the progress of buildings and his nights in conviviality, than that he should live the life of a recluse, without a single pleasure to divert his mind from a gloomy vigilance or from the contemplation of mischievous designs.

XXXVIII. As a matter of fact neither Tiberius nor the informers as yet evinced any signs of weariness. Ancharius Priscus had accused Caesius Cordus, proconsul of Crete, of extortion, and charged him in addition with the crime of treason, a charge which at this period formed the complement of every accusation. The Emperor himself, learning that Antistius Vetus, a prominent Macedonian, had been acquitted on a charge of adultery, reprimanded the judges and caused him to be remitted for trial on a charge of treason, on the ground that he was a seditious person and had been implicated in the designs of Rhescuporis at the time when that prince, having murdered his brother, was plotting to make war on us. Accordingly Antistius was sentenced to banishment, his sentence further providing that he should be confined in some island from which access either to Thrace or to Macedonia would not be easy.

For after the partition of Thrace between Rhoemetaces and the children of Cotys, who, being minors, had been placed under the guardianship of Trebellienus Rufus, there was much discontent, arising principally from their inexperience of Roman government, among the inhabitants of that country; and they accused Rhoemetaces, no less than Trebellienus, of suffering his countrymen to be the victims of oppression. Three powerful tribes, the Coelaetae, the Odrusae, and the Dii, took up arms under different leaders, who were all too obscure for any single one of them to take priority over the others: and for this reason they were prevented from uniting their forces and involving Rome in a formidable war. One body of the enemy raised the country around them, another crossed Mount Haemus with the intention of drawing the distant tribes into the insurrection, while the largest and best disciplined force laid siege to the King in Philippopolis, a town founded by Philip of Macedonia.

XXXIX. On receiving news of these operations, P. Vellaeus, who was in command of the nearest army, despatched a force, composed of the auxiliary cavalry and the light cohorts, against those bodies of the enemy which were over-running the country for the purpose of plunder or with the object of gathering reinforcements, while he marched in person with the bulk of the infantry to raise the siege of Philippopolis. His plans were all equally and simultaneously successful. The pillaging bands were cut to pieces; dissensions broke out among the forces besieging the town, and the King made a successful sortie timed with the arrival of the legion. The massacre of the crowd of half-armed stragglers which ensued cannot properly be termed a pitched battle or even an engagement. It did not cost the Romans a single drop of blood.

XL. In the same year the Gallic communities, oppressed by the weight of their public debt, broke into rebellion. The principal instigators of the movement were Julius Florus, among the Treveri, and Julius Sacrovir, among the Aedui. Both these men were of noble lineage and descended from ancestors whose good services had earned for them the Roman citizenship, at a time when this privilege

was rarely bestowed and only as a reward for merit. As the result of secret conferences, in which the most audacious of their countrymen and those whose indigence or fear of punishment made a necessity of crime were allowed to participate, it was agreed that Florus should raise the Belgians and Sacrovir the nearer communities of Gaul. Accordingly they attended formal assemblies and casual gatherings and delivered seditious addresses upon the continued imposition of tribute, the crushing burden of usury, and the arrogance and cruelty of their governors. Discontent, they said, inflamed by the report of the death of Germanicus, was rife among the Roman troops. If they contrasted their own healthy and vigorous condition with the depression of Italy, with the enervated populace of Rome, and with the armies of Rome whose only strength now lay in the foreign element they contained, they would perceive what a magnificent opportunity was offered them for recovering their lost liberty.

XLI. There was scarcely a single community which was not infected with the germs of this movement, but the Andecavi and Turoni were the first to break into open insurrection. The Andecavi were reduced to submission by the prompt action of the legate Acilius Aviola, who sent at once for the cohort which was garrisoning Lugdunum. The Turoni were defeated by a detachment of legionary troops despatched by Visellius Varro, the legate of Lower Germany, and commanded by the Aviola above-mentioned and some of the Gallic chieftains, who lent their support on this occasion in order to disguise their own disaffection and enable them to display it openly at a more favourable moment. Sacrovir himself was to be seen fighting for the Romans with his head uncovered in order, as he pretended, to demonstrate his courage. The prisoners, however, declared that his object was to be recognised by his countrymen and so escape the danger of being made a target for their missiles. Tiberius, when consulted upon this, refused to credit the allegation, and his irresolution unquestionably magnified the extent of the war.

XLII. Florus, meanwhile, was devoting himself to the vigorous prosecution of his plans. He endeavoured to

induce a squadron of cavalry, which had been levied among the Treveri, but which was serving under the conditions attaching to the Roman service and under Roman discipline, to commence hostilities by massacring the Roman traders. Only a few of these troops yielded to the temptation offered them; the greater number remained true to their duty. A large body of men, however, consisting of the debtors and clients of Florus, took up arms. This force attempted to reach the forest of Ardennes, but was intercepted by legions belonging to both the Roman armies and sent from opposite directions by Visellius and C. Silius to cut off the rebels. Julius Indus, a Gaul who came from the same community but who had quarrelled with Florus, and who on that account was particularly eager to undertake the operation with which he was entrusted, was sent in advance at the head of a picked corps, and succeeded in dispersing the enemy who were still little more than a disorganised multitude. Florus sought refuge in hiding, and for some time eluded his conquerors, but at last, upon seeing the approach of the soldiers who had invested the place where he was concealed, he slew himself with his own hand. Thus ended the insurrection of the Treveri.

XLIII. The Aedui gave more trouble, for they were a more powerful community and the forces requisite to subdue them were at a greater distance away. Sacrovir, at the head of several well-armed cohorts, occupied Augustodunum, the capital of the country, and seized the sons of the Gallic nobles who were receiving the benefits of a liberal education there, in order to use them as hostages for the purpose of attaching their parents and relatives to his cause. At the same time he distributed among these youths some arms which had been secretly manufactured. He was now at the head of 40,000 men, a fifth part of whom were armed like the Roman legions, while the rest carried hunting spears and knives and other weapons of the chase. These numbers were swelled by the addition of some slaves who were intended to become gladiators, and who were called "Crupellarii," being covered from head to foot in iron armour, an equipment which was too clumsy to enable the wearer to strike with facility, but which it was im-

possible to pierce. These forces gained also by the numbers of other Gauls from neighbouring communities who, without waiting for their tribe to declare its adhesion to the insurrectionary movement, came eagerly proffering their personal services. They gained, too, by the dissensions of the Roman generals, each of whom claimed the right of conducting the war. In the end, however, Varro, who was old and somewhat feeble, gave in to Silius, who was still in the vigour of his prime.

XLIV. At Rome it was reported that the insurrection was not confined to the Treveri and Aedui alone, but that all the sixty-four communities of Gaul had revolted, that the Germans had joined the confederacy, and that Spain was wavering. Every rumour was, as usual, exaggerated and accepted as fact. Patriots grieved for the perils which threatened their country. Many, in their hatred of the prevailing conditions of government and in their desire for change, rejoiced even in their own danger, and censured Tiberius for wasting his time over the indictments submitted to him by the informers, while the Empire was being shaken to its foundations. "Was Sacrovir," they asked, "to be brought before the Senate and tried for high treason? Men had at length been found who would put an end to his bloody despatches by the menace of their arms. Even war was a welcome change from a miserable peace." The only effect on Tiberius was to make him more careful than ever to assume an air of absolute unconcern. Without quitting his retreat, or even changing countenance, throughout these days of panic he continued to devote himself to his usual occupations. Whether his attitude was one of profound dissimulation, or whether he had ascertained that the danger was comparatively trifling and less serious than was popularly reported, is open to question.

XLV. Meanwhile Silius was advancing at the head of two legions, with a detachment of auxiliary troops thrown forward in advance of the main body, and was ravaging those cantons of the Sequani which formed the extreme limit of their territory and which bordered on the country of the Aedui, with whom the Sequani were allied. Leaving the

Sequani. he made a forced march upon Augustodunum. His standard-bearers rivalled one another in their exertions. Even the rank and file fretted against any delay and protested against stopping for the usual intervals of rest or halting during the nights. All they craved for was permission to look upon their foes and be seen by them: that would suffice to ensure their victory. Twelve miles from Augustodunum Sacrovir and his troops were discovered in an open plain. He had posted the armoured men in the van, the cohorts on the wings, and the partially armed remainder of his force in the rear. He himself rode up and down the front ranks on a splendid charger, reminding his men of the glorious feats of arms performed by the Gauls in the old days, and of the defeats which they had inflicted on the Romans, and entreating them to bear in mind how glorious would be the liberty which they would win if they proved the victors, and how much more intolerable than ever would be the slavery to which they would again be reduced if they were vanquished for the second time.

XLVI. He did not speak for any length of time, nor were his words received with enthusiasm; for the legions were drawing near in battle array, and the frightened townsmen, who lacked both military training and military experience, were thrown into a state of panic in which they could scarcely use either their eyes or their ears. In the Roman ranks, though the confident assurance of success made it unnecessary for him to encourage the troops, Silius nevertheless shouted to his men that it was insulting to their pride for the conquerors of the Germans to be led into battle against such an enemy as the Gauls. "A single cohort," he cried, "has lately crushed the rebellious Turoni; a single corps of cavalry has defeated the Treveri; and a few squadrons of this very army have routed the Sequani. Show that the Aedui, as they are richer and more pleasure-loving than these, are also more enervated and unwarlike. You are already conquerors; give quarter to those that flee." A great shout greeted his words. The cavalry charged the enemy's flanks, while the infantry attacked his front. On the wings the fight was soon over, but the men in armour gave a little trouble, for the iron

plates in which they were sheathed successfully resisted the blows of the Roman swords and javelins. Our troops, however, seized axes and picks and broke through the solid wall of iron by hewing at the equipment and the bodies of their foes. Some even used clubs and pitchforks to beat down their unwieldy opponents, who were then left to lie on the ground like corpses, unable to make an effort to arise. Sacrovir fled first to Augustodunum, and then, fearing that he might be given up to the Romans, to a house in the neighbourhood accompanied by the trustiest of his followers. There he put himself to death, and his comrades slew one another. The house was fired and proved the funeral pyre on which their dead bodies were burnt.

XLVII. Then, when all was over, Tiberius wrote to the Senate, formally reporting the outbreak and the conclusion of the war. He neither minimised nor exaggerated anything. But he declared that the courage and devotion of his legates, and the measures which he himself had taken, had enabled them to pass successfully through the crisis. At the same time he explained the reasons which had precluded both himself and Drusus from proceeding to the seat of war, dilating upon the greatness of the Empire, and pointing out that it would ill become the dignity of the Emperor, whenever this or that community rose in revolt, to leave the city and the seat of government. Now, however, that the war was over, and that panic was manifestly not the motive which impelled him to go, he would, he said, proceed to Gaul, in order to ascertain by personal inspection the present condition of the country and to restore order and tranquillity. The Senate decreed that vows should be offered for his safe return, ordered a public thanksgiving, and sanctioned other seemly proposals of this nature. Cornelius Dollabella alone, in his anxiety to outdo the others, carried his sycophancy to such a ridiculous length as to propose that Tiberius on his return from Campania should enter the city in triumph. The Emperor at once wrote declaring that his career had not been so inglorious that, after conquering the fiercest nations and after receiving, or refusing, so many triumphs in his younger days, he should now in his old age covet the

empty distinction of a progress through the suburbs of the city.

XLVIII. About the same time Tiberius requested the Senate to grant Sulpicius Quirinus a public funeral. Born in the provincial town of Lanuvium, Quirinus could claim no connection with the ancient and patrician family of the Sulpicii, but being a keen and energetic soldier and a zealous official he had obtained a consulship under Augustus, and was awarded triumphal honours for his operations in Cilicia where he took by storm the fortresses of the Homonadenses. When Caius Caesar was appointed governor of Armenia, Quirinus was attached to him as his adviser, but this did not prevent him from treating Tiberius, who was then living at Rhodes, with the utmost respect and consideration. His behaviour during that period was now openly acknowledged to the Senate by Tiberius, who, while eulogising the devotion of Quirinus, took occasion to make an attack upon Marcus Lollius whom he accused of having been the instigator of the perverse hostility which Caius Caesar had displayed towards himself. The Senate, however, as a body, did not retain any very affectionate memories of Quirinus, who was disliked on account of his persecution of Lepida, to which I have previously referred, and on account of the sordid and overbearing disposition which he manifested in his old age.

XLIX. At the end of this year C. Lutorius Priscus, a Roman knight, and the author of a widely-read elegy on the death of Germanicus, for which he had received an honorarium from the Emperor, fell into the clutches of an informer, who accused him of having written some verses during an illness of Drusus with the intention of subsequently publishing them, in the event of Drusus' illness proving fatal, and thereby earning a still more handsome reward. It was further alleged that his vanity had induced Lutorius to read these verses at the house of P. Petronius in the presence of Vitellia, the mother-in-law of Petronius, and of several other noble ladies. When the informer made his appearance, the other women were terrified into giving evidence against Lutorius. Vitellia alone declared that she had heard nothing. More credence,

however, was attached to the damaging testimony of the others, and Haterius Agrippa, one of the consuls-elect, proposed the infliction of the supreme penalty of the law.

L. Manius Lepidus opposed the proposal in the following speech :—" Conscript Fathers, if we consider only the infamous words with which Lutorius Priscus has sullied his own genius and the ears of mankind, we must inevitably conclude that neither incarceration nor hanging nor even such tortures as are inflicted upon slaves would be adequate punishment for his horrible crime. The infamous audacity of the offence which Lutorius has committed has, I grant, exceeded all bounds : but since the Emperor's moderation and the precedents set by our ancestors and by yourselves have put limits to the extent of the retribution and of the punishment which we demand from the guilty, and since we should preserve the distinction between folly and crime, and between mere words and evil deeds, it appears to me that we are presented with an opportunity for pronouncing a sentence which, while it will not leave this man's sin unpunished, will give us no cause to reproach ourselves for treating him with either improper clemency or excessive severity. I have on more than one occasion heard our Emperor complaining that some offenders, by a self-inflicted death, had robbed him of his prerogative of mercy. The fate of Lutorius is still undecided. If his life is spared, it cannot be a menace to the safety of the State : if he is put to death, the example which we should make of him cannot serve as a deterrent to others. His productions may be insane, but they are worthless and ephemeral : and what serious danger can be apprehended from one who betrays his own misdeeds, and who, failing to attract the attention of men, endeavours to enlist the sympathies of some weak and foolish women ? Nevertheless, banish him from Rome, confiscate his property, and exile him from Italy. That is the sentence which I propose, and which will be the same in effect as though he had been convicted under the law of treason."

LI. Rubellius Blandus, an ex-consul, was the only senator who supported Lepidus. The others voted for the sentence proposed by Agrippa ; and Priscus was con-

ducted to prison and immediately put to death. Tiberius addressed a complaint to the Senate in which, in his usual ambiguous style, he commended the zealous loyalty which inspired them to punish the most trifling injuries done to their Emperor, but deprecated the unnecessary haste with which they had exacted retribution for a verbal offence ; and at the same time he praised Lepidus without censuring Agrippa. A resolution was accordingly passed providing that the decrees of the Senate should not be deposited in the Treasury until an interval of ten days had elapsed and that all condemned persons should be respited for that length of time. But the Senate were not permitted to revoke their decrees, and the opportunity given to Tiberius to exercise his clemency during the interval did not make him more merciful than he was before.

LII. The next consulship was that of C. Sulpicius and D. Haterius. Abroad, their year of office was quiet and untroubled ; at home, it was marked by the uneasy suspicions prevailing that rigorous measures were in contemplation for the repression of luxury, which had made enormous strides in every direction in which lavish expenditure was possible. General extravagance, however ruinous, was as a rule successfully concealed by the practice of disguising the real price of each purchase ; but the reckless profusion with which money was squandered by greedy epicures on the pleasures of the table had become a matter of common report, and there was some apprehension that the Emperor might deal very severely with a vice which was so repugnant to the primitive frugality which he practised. For Caius Bibulus, and, following his initiative, the other aediles, had made representations to the effect that the sumptuary laws were evaded, that in spite of statutory prohibition prices of commodities were rising daily, and that stern measures were needed to remedy the evil. The Senate, on being consulted, decided to refer the whole question to the Emperor. Tiberius was by no means sure that these prodigal tendencies could be repressed or that repressive measures would not do more harm than good, and he felt that to institute a reform

which he could not enforce, or which, if rigidly exacted, would entail the ignominy and disgrace of men of rank and position, would be in the highest degree objectionable. After prolonged consideration he addressed a letter to the Senate containing the following reflections.

LIII. "In most cases, Conscript Fathers, it would, possibly, be more expedient that I should be present at your deliberations, and that I should be asked and should give you in person my opinion upon any subject affecting the welfare of the State; but in this instance it was better that I should not be an eye-witness of your proceedings; otherwise, if your glances designated any individuals who might be guilty of gratifying a shameful taste for luxury and self-indulgence and whose faces betrayed their alarm, I might myself see the culprits and detect their guilt. If those very energetic officials, the aediles, had previously consulted me, I am not sure that my advice would not have been that it would be better to leave vices, as formidable and as fully developed as these, severely alone, rather than to take any action which may have no other result than to publish to the world the abuses which we cannot repress. However, the aediles have done their duty, and have done it in a spirit which I should be glad to see displayed by the other officials in the discharge of their respective functions. As for myself, I cannot conscientiously keep silence, but at the same time it is not easy for me to speak freely upon this question, inasmuch as I am neither an aedile, nor a praetor, nor a consul. Wider and more comprehensive views are expected from the Emperor; but, whereas every man takes credit for that which is well done, the errors of the whole community are attributed to the Emperor alone. Where is the reform to start? What is to be the first thing that I am to prohibit or to prune down to a condition of primitive simplicity? The unlimited area of our country mansions? the numbers of our slaves from all nations? the weight of our silver and gold plate? our marvellous bronzes and pictures? those feminine garments worn by effeminate men? or the particular extravagance of the other sex which for the sake of some paltry stones diverts our fortunes

into the hands of foreigners or even enemies of our country ?

LIV. "I am perfectly well aware that in friendly gatherings and in private circles these abuses are denounced, and that there is a demand for some restriction—but pass a law or impose penalties, and these same ardent reformers will at once raise an outcry that the foundations of society are menaced, that ruin threatens the most illustrious personages, that nobody can remain guiltless. And yet the diseases of the body, if aggravated by long neglect, will only yield to a severe and drastic treatment. In the same way the fever of a sick mind, infected by the germs of a corruption which it sows, cannot be subdued by remedies less potent than the raging passions by which it is consumed. What has been the effect of the numerous laws devised by our ancestors, of the numerous statutes of Augustus ? The former have become obsolete and forgotten ; the latter, with more shameful audacity, have been derided and evaded : and the result is that luxury is now more brazen than ever. For if you covet that which is not yet forbidden, you may be afraid that it may be forbidden you : but if you find that, in spite of prohibitions, you can trespass with impunity, neither fear nor shame will restrain you. Why then was frugality formerly so prevalent ? Because every man regulated his own desires : because we were citizens of a single town : not even when we ruled all Italy had we the same temptations as we have now. Our victories in foreign wars have taught us to squander the fortunes of others, and our victories in the civil wars to squander our own. How small is the abuse of which the aediles complain, how trifling in comparison with other evils ! Nobody asks us to consider that Italy depends for her existence on foreign aid,¹⁵ or that the life of the Roman people is every day at the mercy of the waves and the tempests : that unless the resources of the provinces supply the wants of ourselves, our slaves, and our lands, we must, forsooth, look to our parks and our country mansions to keep us from starvation. These, Conscrip^t Fathers, are the cares which occupy the mind of your

¹⁵ As to the dependence of Italy on foreign corn *cf.* II. 59, and IV. 6.

Emperor, and which, if neglected, will bring ruin upon the State. As for those other evils, we must look for the remedy in our own hearts, and hope that our sense of propriety, the necessities of the poor, and the satiety of the rich may ultimately effect the reformation which we desire. If, however, any of the officials profess sufficient eagerness and determination to face this difficult problem, I will commend their zeal and gladly acknowledge that they will thereby relieve me of a portion of my labours. But if they propose to attack these vices and then, when they have gained all the credit for their courage, retire from the contest leaving me to bear the odium which they have excited, believe me I am not so anxious to earn hatred. From hatred, bitter and often undeserved, if incurred in the cause of the State, I do not shrink; but from hatred incurred without cause, without purpose, or without any compensating advantage either to you or to myself, I am justified in asking that I may be spared."

LV. After hearing Caesar's letter the Senate decided to excuse the aediles from undertaking so difficult a task; and the wanton extravagance on the pleasures of the table, which began at the end of the civil war, after the battle of Actium, and lasted until Servius Galba was made Emperor by the arms of his legions, and which for a hundred years entailed the most profuse and prodigal expenditure, gradually fell into desuetude.

It will not be out of place to examine the causes which effected this change. In the old days, rich or distinguished families were not infrequently ruined by their passion for munificence and display. For even at that time it was a recognised practice for Roman nobles to pay court to the city populace, to allied nations, or to foreign kings, and to be courted by them in turn; and the splendour of those who were renowned for their wealth and for the magnificence of their houses and establishments was enhanced by the reputation they acquired and by the number of dependants on whom they bestowed their patronage. But after the ruthless massacres which decimated the noble families, and when great notoriety was a fatal possession, the survivors became wiser in their genera-

tion. At the same time numbers of new men from the country towns in Italy, and even from the provinces, were admitted to the Senate and brought with them the maxims of domestic economy; and though many of them by good fortune or industry attained to opulence in their old age, they retained the precepts of their youth. But the principal promoter of the change from laxity of manners to strictness and austerity was Vespasian, an exponent in his own person of primitive simplicity both in dress and diet. Obedience to his wishes and the desire to imitate his manners proved a more effectual restraint than the penalties or terrors of the law. Or it may be that everything moves in a circle, and that there is a revolution in manners and morals just as in the changing and recurring seasons. Excellence in every direction is not the monopoly of antiquity: our own age has bequeathed much that is admirable and much that is cultured and refined to the imitation of posterity. May we always retain this honourable rivalry with our ancestors!

LVI. Tiberius, having thus obtained credit for his moderation by checking the threatened extension of the sinister operations of the informers, wrote to the Senate asking them to invest Drusus with the tribunician power.

Augustus, anxious to find a title which would signify his precedence over all other authority, without assuming the name of "king" or "dictator," devised this term to express the supreme position which he occupied.¹⁶ He made

¹⁶ For an account of the powers, etc., of the "tribuni plebis" see Dict.

Augustus held the "tribunicia potestas" from B.C. 36 to the end of his life, but it was apparently first assumed as an official title in B.C. 23. The importance of the "tribunicia potestas" for him, and for his successors, consisted in the following facts:—

1. It gave him power to veto legislation, to stop or reverse judicial proceedings, and to arrest on his own authority any citizens, including the highest magistrates of the State.

2. It rendered his person inviolable.

3. It was an essentially popular or democratic title, and as such served not only to conceal the military basis underlying his supremacy, but also to give his authority the appearance of resting on the will of the people (see Book I. ch. 2).

Marcus Agrippa his colleague in this power, and after the death of Agrippa chose Tiberius Nero that there might be no doubt who was intended to be his successor. In this manner, he thought, the improper ambitions of other aspirants would be thwarted; and, moreover, he placed implicit confidence in the moderation of Tiberius and the greatness of his own position.

Following this precedent, Tiberius now promoted Drusus to the nearest place to the throne, though in the lifetime of Germanicus he had preserved an even balance between the two. He began his letter by imploring Heaven to prosper his plans for the State, and then made a few observations, without any false exaggeration, upon the character of the young prince. He reminded the Senate that Drusus had a wife and three children, and that his age was the same as that at which he himself had been in the past summoned by Augustus to undertake the same duties: he could not be accused of undue precipitation; for eight years Drusus had been on his trial; it was only after he had proved his capacity by quelling mutinies and concluding wars, after receiving the honours of a triumph and serving twice as consul, that he was now selected to take his share in labours with which he was already well acquainted.

LVII. The Senate had been expecting this request; and their sycophancy was therefore more studied than ever. Their ingenuity, however, failed to devise any method of expressing their adulation beyond voting the usual compliments—statues to the Emperor and his son, altars to the gods, chapels, and triumphal arches. The only exceptional suggestion was that of M. Silanus who desired to make the degradation of the consulship a means of exalting the imperial prerogative: he proposed that, instead of commemorating dates by the names of the consuls, in future the names of those who exercised the tribunician power should be inscribed on all public and private monuments and records. Quintus Haterius proposed that the decrees of that day should be graven in letters of gold on the walls of the Senate House, thereby earning contempt and ridicule for this disgusting

exhibition of sycophancy from which, as he was an old man, he could not possibly expect to derive anything but infamy.

LVIII. About this time, Junius Blaesus having been continued in the governorship of Africa, Servius Maluginensis, the Flamen Dialis,¹⁷ demanded the province of Asia. He declared that "the common supposition that it was not permissible for the Flamen Dialis to leave Italy was an entire mistake, that he possessed the same privileges as the Flamines of Mars and Quirinus, and that if these were allowed to hold governorships of provinces there was no reason for depriving the Flamines of Jupiter of the same right: there was no prohibition to that effect in any decree of the people or in the sacred ritual. The ceremonies connected with this special worship had often been conducted by the Pontifices if the Flamen was prevented by illness or his other public duties from conducting them. For seventy-five¹⁸ years after the violent death of Cornelius Merula his place had not been filled, but the observance of the sacred rites had not lapsed. If then the office could remain so long in abeyance without injury to the worship for which it was instituted, still less inconvenience could be occasioned by the Flamen's absence for a single year as proconsul. It was due entirely to private pique that the Pontifices Maximi had formerly prohibited the Flamines from going to the provinces: now, by the grace of Heaven, the highest Pontifex¹⁹ was also the highest personage in the State and far removed from the baneful influence of sentiments of rivalry, hatred, or private partiality."

LIX. As the augur Lentulus and others dissented on various grounds from these views, it was decided to await

¹⁷ See Dict.

¹⁸ Merula committed suicide in 87 B.C. to escape the vengeance of Marius. Maluginensis was appointed in 11 B.C. In the interval the duties of the office appear to have been performed by the Pontifex Maximus. Julius Cæsar was designated for the office after the death of Merula, but he was never consecrated.

¹⁹ The office of Pontifex Maximus was assumed by Augustus in B.C. 12; and the title was invariably taken by the Roman Emperors until towards the end of the fourth century A.D., shortly after which it was held by the Bishops of Rome. The title was even held by some of the Christian Emperors.

the decision of the Pontifex Maximus. Tiberius postponed his consideration of the prerogatives of the Flamen, and restricted the extravagant proposals by which the Senate had suggested that the investment of Drusus with the tribunician power should be celebrated. The proposed inscription in gold letters he selected for special censure, condemning the unusual character of the compliment as entirely foreign to the spirit of the Roman race.

A letter from Drusus was also read, which, though affecting a modest tone, was regarded as arrogant in the extreme. "They had sunk to such a depth of degradation," it was said, "that a young man, on receiving the highest honour which the State can confer, does not deign to signify his appreciation by paying respect to the city's gods, by visiting the Senate, or even by inaugurating his accession to his new dignity on his native soil. Perhaps he was on a campaign, or travelling in foreign parts? As a matter of fact his travels had not taken him an inch farther than the coast and lakes of Campania. That was the spirit which was being inculcated in the future ruler of the world: that was the first lesson that his father had taught him. The aged Emperor might shrink from the gaze of the citizens, but at least he would have some excuse in the weariness of his declining years and on the score that his work was done; but what kept Drusus away if not arrogance?"

LX. While tightening his own hold on the substance of power, Tiberius offered the Senate the shadow of their former greatness by referring to them for examination the petitions of the provinces. The Greek cities at this time were suffering from the growing abuse of the privilege of sanctuary. The temples were filled with villainous slaves. Debtors availed themselves of the protection offered them to escape their creditors, and suspected criminals to cheat the ends of justice. There remained no authority powerful enough to repress sedition, for the people sheltered the crimes of men behind the worship of the gods. Accordingly it was resolved that the various communities should send commissioners to submit the title-deeds of their respective sanctuaries to the examination of the Senate: whereupon

a few voluntarily renounced the privileges which they had unlawfully usurped, but a great number relied upon the strength of ancient tradition or of services to the Roman people.

It was a great day when the Senate, with absolute freedom, as in times long past, to confirm or reject the claims submitted to their judgment, proceeded to review the grants of their ancient predecessors, the conventions concluded with the allies, the decrees even of kings who had flourished before Rome had risen to power, and the sacred prerogatives of the deities concerned.

LXI. The Ephesians were the first to appear. They represented that the popular belief that Diana and Apollo were born at Delos was an error: that the river Cenchrius and the grove of Ortygia were in their territory, and that it was there that Latona, leaning in her travail against an olive-tree which was still standing, had given birth to those two deities. "The grove," they said, "had been consecrated by the command of the gods: and Apollo himself had sought refuge there from the wrath of Jupiter after slaying the Cyclopes. At a later date Father Liber had spared the defeated Amazons when they fled as suppliants to this altar—and after that Hercules, when reigning in Lydia, had invested the temple with still greater sanctity. The privileges then accorded had suffered no diminution under the Persian dominion: they had been respected by the Macedonians, and subsequently by the Romans themselves."

LXII. The Magnesians were the next to be heard. They based their claims on the ordinances of L. Scipio and L. Sulla, who, after their respective victories over Antiochus and Mithridates, had rewarded the courage and loyalty of the Magnesians by constituting the temple of Diana Leucophryne an inviolable sanctuary. The Magnesians were succeeded by the people of Aphrodisia and of Stratonice, who relied upon a decree of Caesar the dictator acknowledging the services rendered by them to his cause, and a more recent decree of Augustus, in which they were complimented for having endured a Parthian invasion without swerving in their fidelity to the Roman

people. The citizens of Aphrodisia supported the cult of Venus, those of Stratonice the cult of Jupiter and of Trivia. The Hierocaesarians carried their claims higher. They represented that Diana of the Persians had a shrine within their territory which had been consecrated by King Cyrus, and they cited the names of Perpenna, Isauricus, and many other generals, who had accorded the privileges of sanctuary not only to the temple but to an area of two miles round it as well. The people of Cyprus claimed similar privileges for three shrines, the first and oldest said to have been dedicated to Venus Paphia by Aërias, the second to Venus Amathusia by Amathus the son of Aërias, and the third to Jupiter Salaminus by Teucer, when fleeing from the anger of his father Telamon.

LXIII. Deputations from other cities were also received ; and at length the Senate, wearied by the number of the claims and by the partiality with which they were disputed, delegated the duty of examining the various titles to the consuls, with instructions to remit to the Senate the whole case wherever any fraud was detected. In addition to those mentioned above, the consuls reported that the claims of the temple of Aesculapius at Pergamum to be a genuine sanctuary were incontestable, but that the rest of the claims were based only on ancient and obscure tradition. For example, the people of Smyrna cited an oracle of Apollo in virtue of which they had dedicated a temple to Venus Stratoniceis, but the people of Tenos quoted the same oracle as having bade them consecrate an effigy and chapel of Neptune. The people of Sardis again, citing a later authority, relied upon a concession of Alexander granted in consequence of his victories ; whereas those of Miletus relied upon an ordinance of King Darius, both cities being devoted to the worship of Diana and Apollo. Finally the Cretans claimed the right of sanctuary for a statue of Augustus. In the end decrees were passed which, with great reverence, nevertheless imposed limitations on the latitude previously allowed : and it was ordained that these decrees should be engraved on bronze tablets and hung on the walls of the temples, so as to serve as a record of the privileges now acknowledged and to debar the cities con-

cerned from advancing any further pretensions under cover of the imaginary sanctity attaching to their sacred edifices.

LXIV. About the same date Julia Augusta was taken seriously ill, and the Emperor was obliged to return hurriedly to Rome. Whether Tiberius still retained any sincere affection for his mother, or whether he successfully disguised his dislike, is uncertain. But a short time before Augusta, when dedicating to Augustus a statue of Marcellus, near the theatre, had inscribed the name of Tiberius after her own, and it was believed that the Emperor regarded this as an insult to his own majesty, and that he secretly cherished the keenest resentment on that account. However, on the present occasion the Senate decreed solemn supplications and the celebration of great games under the management of the pontifices, the augurs, and the septemviri²⁰ in association with the quindecimviri²⁰ and the Augustal College. L. Apronius had further proposed that the "fetiales" should also preside at these games; but the Emperor opposed the suggestion, distinguishing the functions of the different priestly colleges and quoting precedents. The "fetiales," he declared, had never enjoyed such a distinction; and the reason for associating the Augustal with the other colleges on this occasion was that their institution had a special connection with the house on whose behalf the vows were to be discharged.

LXV. It is not my purpose to specify every motion brought forward in the Senate, but only such as were remarkable either for the honourable intentions or for the notorious degradation which they discovered. For I hold that it is the principal function of history to see to it that noble deeds are not lost in oblivion, and to act as a deterrent to evil words and evil actions by exposing them to the judgment of posterity and to the everlasting infamy which they entail. The period with which I am dealing was so debased, so poisoned with the curse of sycophancy, that not only the greatest men in the State, who were perforce obliged to obscure their own lustre by the obsequious deference they displayed, but all the ex-consuls also, most of

²⁰ See Dict.

those who had held praetorships, and even many of the inferior senators who had never held office, rose in their places and vied with one another in making the most fulsome and extravagant proposals. Tradition avers that whenever Tiberius left the Senate House he exclaimed, in the Greek language, "How well fitted for slavery are these men!" From which it may be inferred that even he, who would not permit freedom, was filled with disgust by the sight of such tame submission to slavery.

LXVI. From degradation there was a gradual transition to cruelty. Caius Silanus, proconsul of Asia, was accused by the dependencies over which he had jurisdiction of extortion. Mamercus Scaurus, an ex-consul, Junius Otho, a praetor, and Brutidius Niger, an aedile, fell upon their victim simultaneously, accusing him of having profaned the divinity of Augustus, and of having disparaged the majesty of Tiberius. Mamercus cited ancient precedents, quoting the prosecution of L. Cotta by Scipio Africanus, of Servius Galba by Cato the Censor, and of P. Rutilius by M. Scaurus; as if offences such as these would ever have been attacked by Scipio or by Cato or by the Scaurus of old, whose great-grandson, Mamercus, was now dishonouring him and disgracing his ancestry by the infamous occupation in which he was engaged! Junius Otho was formerly a schoolmaster by profession. Through the influence of Sejanus he had been made a Senator, and by his impudent effrontery brought further shame upon the lowness of his origin. Brutidius was a man of excellent qualities, who, had he chosen to follow the path of virtue, might have had a brilliant career; but his impatience goaded him to outdistance first his equals, then his superiors, and finally his own previous aspirations. The same cause has ruined many good men, who, scorning slow but sure advancement, make frantic efforts to achieve a premature success even at the risk of their total destruction.

LXVII. Gellius Publicola and M. Paconius joined the ranks of the accusers, the former being the quaestor of Silanus, and the latter his legate. There appeared to be no question that Silanus was actually guilty of cruelty and extortion; but the forces arrayed against him would have

placed even an innocent man in dire peril. In addition to all the senators who were attacking him, he was opposed by the most eloquent orators in the whole of Asia, specially selected on account of their skill to conduct his prosecution. He had to meet the denunciations of these formidable opponents alone and unsupported, with no knowledge of oratory, and in fear for his own life, a disadvantage under which the most practised eloquence would falter: and all the while Tiberius never ceased from brow-beating him, both with words and gestures, and from plying him with constant questions, which he was permitted neither to refute nor to evade. Often, indeed, he was forced into making admissions merely that the Emperor might not have asked his question in vain. Moreover his slaves had been purchased by the Administrator of Public Property in order that they might be examined under torture; and with the object of depriving him of the assistance of any of his friends, the indictment preferred against him was supplemented by a charge of high treason, a sure bar to any effort to save him and a certain method of sealing the lips of any who might be willing to speak in his defence. Silanus therefore, having petitioned for a few days' adjournment, abandoned his own defence, and hazarded a memorial to the Emperor, in which he united reproaches with his prayers.

LXVIII. In order to palliate the harsh measures which he proposed to take against Silanus, Tiberius sought for a precedent, and accordingly ordered the memorandum which Augustus had written with reference to the case of Volesus Messala, also proconsul of Asia, and the judgment passed on him by the Senate, to be produced and read. After which, he invited L. Piso to state his opinion. Piso, after a long prefatory disquisition upon the clemency of the Emperor, proposed that Silanus should be banished and confined in the island of Gyarus. The rest of the Senate agreed; but Cn. Lentulus argued that the property which he had inherited from his mother, Atia, should be distinguished from the remainder of his estate and bestowed upon his son. To this proposition Tiberius assented.

LXIX. The adulation of Cornelius Dolabella was carried

further. After denouncing the personal character of Silanus, he proposed that no man of loose morals or evil reputation should be permitted to assume the governorship of a province, and that the exclusion of any candidate for such reasons should be within the discretion of the Emperor. "The laws," he said, "provided for the punishment of offences : but would it not be kinder to the officials themselves, and better for the provinces they governed, to take measures to prevent the commission of offences in the first instance ?"

The Emperor opposed this proposition. "He was aware," he said, "of the stories which were circulated about Silanus, but it was not fitting that unconfirmed reports should form the basis of any judgment. Many officials in their government of the provinces had disappointed either the hopes or the fears which had been entertained with regard to them : the grave responsibility with which they were entrusted acted as a wholesome incentive to some, while others sank beneath its weight. It was impossible for the Emperor to have an expert knowledge of every subject, and it was inexpedient that he should be answerable for the intrigues of others. The laws were purposely designed to deal with actual facts, because the future must remain uncertain ; and therefore our ancestors had laid down the principle that punishment should ensue only if preceded by an actual offence. These sage maxims, which had always met with approval, should not be reversed. The Emperor had burdens enough, and power enough, already. Increasing concentration of authority in one man's hands inevitably entailed a corresponding diminution in the private rights of individuals, and therefore, where recognised legal procedure was practicable, it was inadvisable to call in the extraneous assistance of the imperial prerogative."

Such an exposition of the principles of civil liberty was rarely afforded by Tiberius, and was therefore welcomed with exceptional enthusiasm. The Emperor, moreover, with the moderation which he was always careful to display when not actuated by personal resentment, added that Gyarus was a terrible desert island : and that, as a con-

cession to the Junian family and to the senatorial rank to which Silanus belonged, he should be banished instead to Cythnos, in compliance with the request made by his sister Torquata, a Vestal of pristine sanctity. This proposition was acceded to.

LXX. A deputation was next received from the citizens of Cyrene, and Caesius Cordus, impeached by Ancharius Priscus, was convicted of extortion in his province. L. Ennius, a Roman knight, was accused of treason on the ground that he had melted down a statue of the Emperor and converted it into a common piece of plate. The Emperor, however, refused to allow him to be put on his trial, notwithstanding the openly expressed dissent of Ateius Capito, who, affecting to take his stand upon the principles of liberty, argued that the Senate ought not to be deprived of their privilege of deciding the question at issue, and that it was inexpedient that a crime of such enormity should be allowed to go unpunished : the Emperor might, if he chose, remain passive when his personal interests suffered, but when an injury was done to the State, his generosity would be misplaced. Tiberius did not fail to comprehend the real intention underlying these words, and he persisted in his determination to exercise his veto. Capito's abasement on this occasion was the more remarkable, because his reputation as a jurist profoundly versed in human and divine law, his record of splendid services to the State, and the probity of his personal character were, by this one act, sullied and disgraced.

LXXI. These proceedings were followed by a religious debate arising out of the question of selecting a suitable temple in which to deposit the offering vowed by the Roman knights to Fortuna Equestris for the recovery of Augusta : for, although there were many shrines of that goddess in the city, there were none of that particular name. It appeared, however, that there was a temple of that name at Antium, and it was held that every religious institution in the towns of Italy, and all temples and statues of deities, were subject to the supreme jurisdiction of the Roman people. It was therefore decided to deposit the offering at Antium.

As religious questions were engaging the attention of the Senate, the Emperor took the opportunity to announce his reserved decision in the case of Servius Maluginensis, the Flamen Dialis. He quoted a pontifical decree which provided that, in case of illness and subject to the consent of the Pontifex Maximus, the Flamen Dialis might absent himself for a period exceeding two nights, provided that his absence did not occur on the days appointed for public sacrifice and not more than twice in the same year. This regulation, made during the principate of Augustus, appeared to prove that the Flamines Dialis were prohibited from taking a year's absence or from assuming the administration of a province. A precedent was also discovered in the case of the flamen, Aulus Postumius, who was retained in Rome by L. Metellus, the Pontifex Maximus. The province of Asia was accordingly conferred upon the ex-consul who came next to Maluginensis in seniority.

LXXII. About this date Lepidus requested permission from the Senate to repair and embellish at his own expense the basilica of Paulus, built by the Aemilii as a monument of that distinguished family. Even at this period private munificence on public works was not uncommon, and Augustus had consented to Taurus, Philippus, and Balbus devoting the spoils of war or their own superfluous wealth to the adornment of the city and the legitimate pride of posterity. Inspired by these examples, Lepidus, notwithstanding his comparatively modest means, was anxious to restore the splendid memorials of his race. The Emperor himself promised to undertake the rebuilding of the theatre of Pompeius, which had been accidentally burnt, on the ground that no member of the family possessed sufficient means for the purpose; but it was still to be called by the name of Pompeius. At the same time he eulogised Sejanus, to whose efforts and vigilance he said it was due that the conflagration had been confined to a single building: and the Senate decreed that a statue of Sejanus should be placed in the theatre of Pompeius. Not long afterwards the Emperor, when decorating Junius Blaesus, proconsul of Africa, with the triumphal insignia, avowed that this

honour was bestowed as a compliment to Sejanus, whose uncle Blaesus was ; though, as a matter of fact, the exploits of Blaesus fully merited such a distinction.

LXXIII. For Tacfarinas, in spite of his numerous defeats, had succeeded in recruiting fresh forces in the heart of Africa, and now had the effrontery to despatch envoys to Tiberius impudently demanding the allocation of territory on which he and his army might settle, failing which, he threatened the Romans with the prospect of interminable war. It is said that Tiberius never resented any insult to himself or to the Roman people more keenly than the audacity of this deserter and marauder, in arrogating to himself the position and rights of a belligerent. "If," he exclaimed, "even Spartacus²¹ was refused an armistice, and his offer to submit upon terms was rejected, although after the defeat of so many consular armies he was plundering and ravaging Italy with impunity, and although the State was tottering beneath the burden of the great wars with Sertorius and Mithridates, it would be monstrous that Rome at the height of her power should offer peace and concessions of territory as a ransom to this brigand Tacfarinas." He commissioned Blaesus to induce the followers of Tacfarinas to lay down their arms by the offer of an amnesty, but to seize their leader at all hazards. Many took advantage of the proffered amnesty ; and hostilities were then recommenced against Tacfarinas.

LXXIV. The Romans now adapted their tactics to those which the enemy employed. Recognising that his troops were no real match for our army, being in fact better suited to marauding expeditions than to regular warfare, Tacfarinas divided them into several detached bodies and then proceeded to harass the Romans, to evade their attacks, and to attempt to draw them into ambushes. To frustrate these tactics, the Romans advanced in three columns by three separate routes. One column, commanded by the legate Cornelius Scipio, threw itself across the route taken by the enemy in raiding the neighbourhood of Leptis and cut his line of retreat to the Garamantes. On the other side the younger Blaesus, at the head of his own

²¹ B.C. 73-71.

division, relieved the defenceless villages of Cirta from the risk of attack. In the centre the commander-in-chief with a corps of picked troops established fortified posts in suitable places. As a result of these operations, the enemy were completely hemmed in and enveloped, and wherever they turned they found themselves opposed by one of the Roman divisions on their front, on their flanks, and often in their rear. In this manner great numbers of them were slain or surrounded and taken prisoners. The Roman general then broke up his three corps into several small detachments commanded by centurions of proved worth. At the close of the summer, instead of withdrawing his troops according to the usual custom and establishing them in winter-quarters in the Old Province, he kept them virtually on the scene of the operations, distributing them in various fortified positions, and with some light troops who knew their way through the deserts chased Tacfarinas from retreat to retreat. Having captured the brother of Tacfarinas, Blaesus at length returned, sooner, it must be confessed, than was advantageous for our allies, for he left behind him many who would be ready to renew the struggle at a later date. However, Tiberius regarded the war as concluded and conferred upon Blaesus the distinction of being saluted by his legions as "Imperator."²² This was formerly a complimentary title bestowed with shouts of joy from their victorious troops upon commanders who had gained some signal success for the arms of the Republic. In those days there might be several "Imperatores" at one time, and all on the same footing of equality. This title had been granted in a few cases by Augustus; and it was now conferred on Blaesus by Tiberius for the last time in Roman history.

LXXV. Two illustrious men died during this year, Asinius Saloninus and Capito Ateius. Saloninus was the grandson of Marcus Agrippa and of Asinius Pollio; he enjoyed the further distinction of being half-brother to Drusus; and the Emperor intended to marry one of his granddaughters to him. Capito, whom I have already mentioned, had owing to his great attainments as a jurist

²² See note on Book I. ch. 1.

reached the highest position in the State, although his grandfather was only one of Sulla's centurions, and his father a simple praetor. Augustus had accelerated his promotion to the consulship, in order that the distinction which he would enjoy through holding that great office might give him pre-eminence over his rival Antistius Labeo. For both these brilliant exponents of the arts of peace belonged to the same generation ; but whereas Labeo won universal respect for the incorruptible independence for which he was justly famous, the obsequious attitude which Capito adopted met with more approval from his masters. The one was never allowed to advance beyond the praetorship, but this injustice only increased the popular estimation in which he was held : the other attained the consulship, but the jealousy occasioned by his preferment created feelings of hatred and resentment against him.

LXXVI. In the same year, the sixty-fourth after the battle of Philippi, Junia's long life came to an end. She was the niece of Cato, the wife of C. Cassius, and the sister of M. Brutus. Her will was the subject of much popular gossip, because, with all her wealth, and though nearly all the principal personages in Rome were mentioned in flattering terms as legatees, the Emperor's name was omitted. Tiberius, putting himself in the position of an ordinary citizen who might naturally have been passed over, took no offence at this omission, and raised no objection to the delivery of a panegyric from the Rostra or any other customary funeral ceremonies. The busts of twenty illustrious families were carried in her funeral procession, including those of the Manlii, the Quintii, and others of equal nobility. But the lustre of these splendid names was eclipsed by Cassius and Brutus, for the very reason that the absence of their images made more resplendent the glory of their fame.

BOOK IV

A.D. 23—28

I. IN the consulship of C. Asinius and C. Antistius, Tiberius entered upon the ninth year of his reign, which up to this time had proved an era of complete tranquillity for the State and a period of prosperity for his own house (for he looked upon the death of Germanicus in the light of a contribution to that prosperity); but suddenly the tide of fortune turned, a time of trouble and confusion supervened, and the Emperor began to evince signs of cruelty in his own disposition or to stimulate the cruelty of others. The prime responsibility for this unfortunate change rests with Aelius Sejanus, the commander of the praetorian cohorts. I have already mentioned the power and influence which this man possessed: ¹ I will now describe his origin, his character, and the atrocious crime by means of which he designed to make himself the despotic master of the Roman world.

He was born at Vulsinium, his father being Seius Strabo, a Roman knight. In his early days he attached himself to C. Caesar, the grandson of Augustus, and there were sinister rumours to the effect that he had sold his person to a rich and profligate voluptuary named Apicius. In course of time by various devices he obtained so complete a hold over Tiberius that he penetrated the reserve which the Emperor so consistently displayed in his relations to other men, and induced him to confide in himself alone all the secrets of his heart. For this success he had to thank, not so much his own sagacity and address, for in these qualities Tiberius was more than his match, as the anger of Heaven towards

¹ Book I. ch. 24: Book III. ch. 29 and 72.

the Roman people, to whom his power and his fall proved equally disastrous. To physical indefatigability he united a hardihood of mind. Skilfully disguising his own crafty schemes, he detected and exposed the devices of others. He was at once sycophantic and arrogant. Under an exterior of assumed modesty he concealed an uncontrollable lust for power, and in order to attain his ends he affected, sometimes generosity and prodigality, but more often industry and vigilance, equally pernicious practices when they serve to cloak the designs of an aspirant to a throne.

II. He extended the formerly limited power of the prefect of the praetorian guard by concentrating the cohorts, previously dispersed throughout the different quarters of the city, in one camp, so that they might receive their commander's orders simultaneously, and that the sight of their combined numbers and strength might inspire confidence in themselves and awe in others. His pretext for this new arrangement was that the troops when scattered were liable to get out of hand; that, in case of a sudden emergency, their assistance would be more valuable if their efforts were united; and that a stricter discipline could be enforced if the men's quarters were removed from the midst of the temptations of the city. When the camp was completed, he commenced to worm his way into the good graces of his troops by visiting them and calling them by their names. At the same time he selected the tribunes and centurions himself. Nor did he neglect to strengthen his influence in the Senate by obtaining public offices and provincial governorships for his creatures: and he was aided throughout by the complaisance of Tiberius who, not only in private intercourse, but in his addresses to the Senate and the people also, spoke of him continually as the partner of his labours, and permitted honours to be paid to his statues in the theatres, in the places of public assembly, and at the headquarters of the legions.

III. On the other hand there were serious obstacles to his ambitious projects. The Imperial House was not deficient in the number of its members: the Emperor had a son in the prime of life, and grandsons who had reached

maturity. To put them all out of his way at once was hazardous : it was more in conformity with the subtlety of his treacherous designs that there should be an interval between his crimes. He preferred the more underhand methods, and resolved to make a beginning with Drusus who had recently excited his anger. For Drusus, who could not brook a rival and who was naturally somewhat quick-tempered, during a casual quarrel with Sejanus had threatened him with clenched fist, and when Sejanus prepared to defend himself, Drusus struck him in the face. The readiest method of revenge appeared to be to address himself to his enemy's wife, Livia. Livia was the sister of Germanicus. In her early days she was not endowed with physical charms, but subsequently she became surpassingly beautiful. Feigning an ardent passion for her, he finally seduced her ; and profiting by the success of his first crime, (for a woman, when she has thrown away her chastity, can refuse nothing) he persuaded her to cherish hopes of becoming his wife and sharing his throne, and incited her to murder her husband. Thus the niece of Augustus, the daughter-in-law of Tiberius, the mother of Drusus' children, brought defilement upon herself, her ancestors, and her posterity by her intrigue with this provincial, and sacrificed her previous honourable and secure position to criminal expectations which might never be realised. Eudemus, her friend and physician, who under pretext of his calling was often with her in private, was admitted into the conspiracy. Sejanus drove his wife Apicata, by whom he had three children, from his house, in order that his mistress might have no cause for jealousy. The enormity of the contemplated crime, however, occasioned fear, delays, and sometimes contradictory counsels.

IV. Meanwhile at the beginning of the year Drusus, one of the sons of Germanicus, arrived at man's estate : and the honours decreed by the Senate for his brother Nero ² were repeated in his case. The Emperor also made a speech in which he warmly praised his son for his kindness to his brother's children. For, difficult though it be for harmony to subsist between those who are equal in power,

² Book III. ch. 29.

Drusus was supposed to treat his young nephews with great fairness or at least to bear them no ill-will.

The Emperor's stale, and often illusory, project of visiting the provinces was now brought forward once again. His ostensible reason was the large number of veterans who were awaiting their discharge and the necessity for recruiting the armies by fresh levies; for according to him there was a deficiency in the numbers of those who voluntarily enrolled themselves, and even had there been a sufficient supply from this source the soldiers so recruited were inferior in courage and discipline, because as a rule it was only the indigent and the vagabonds who voluntarily entered the military service. At the same time he made a summary enumeration of the legions and of the provinces which were placed under their protection: and I propose to repeat this summary to show what forces Rome at this time possessed, what foreign kings were allied to her, and how much narrower were the limits of the Empire than at the present day.³

V. Two fleets, stationed at Misenum and Ravenna respectively, guarded Italy on each coast; while the southern shores of Gaul were protected by the fleet of war-ships which had been taken in the battle of Actium and which Augustus had sent, strongly manned, to Forum Julii. But the principal force was on the Rhine, where eight legions were posted to act when required against either the Gauls or the Germans. Spain, finally subdued only a short time before,⁴ was occupied by three legions. The Moors were ruled over by Juba, who had received his kingdom as a gift from the Roman people. The rest of the province of Africa was garrisoned by two legions, and Egypt by the same number. Four legions held in subjection the vast range of territory which, starting from Syria, extends as far as the River Euphrates, and on the confines of which are Hiberia, Albania, and other kingdoms which depend upon our great Empire to protect them from other Powers. Thrace was subject to Rhoemetalcēs and the children of Cotys. The bank of the Danube was held by two legions in Pannonia and two in Moesia. Two other

³ *i.e.* in the reign of Trajan, 115 or 116 A.D. ⁴ In B.C. 23.

legions were stationed in Dalmatia, the position of that country enabling them to serve as a support to the legions previously mentioned, and at the same time rendering them readily available in case Italy required their assistance in a sudden emergency. Rome, however, was garrisoned by its own particular forces, consisting of three city and nine praetorian cohorts, levied as a rule in Etruria, Umbria, Old Latium,⁵ and the ancient Roman "coloniae"⁶ in Italy. To these forces must be added the ships of war contributed by the allies, and the auxiliary troops, both infantry and cavalry, which were distributed in various stations according to the requirements of the different provinces, and the total strength of which was not much inferior to that of the regular forces: but the details of their numbers and distribution could not be given with any accuracy, for they were moved from place to place and their strength was augmented or diminished as circumstances demanded.

VI. This appears to me to be a suitable occasion to review also the other departments of the administration, and to consider the methods by which they were conducted up to this date; for the government of Tiberius underwent a pernicious change in this year.

In the first place, public affairs and private business of first-rate importance were transacted in the Senate, the principal members of which were allowed the privilege of free discussion. Their lapses into adulation were checked by the Emperor himself. In assigning the various public offices he paid due regard to the nobility of descent, the military prowess, and the civil accomplishments of the candidates; and it was generally admitted that better selections could not have been made. The consuls and the praetors retained at least the outward dignity of their

⁵ *i.e.* the towns which possessed the "jus Latii" before 90 B.C., in which year the "Lex Julia" gave them the full Roman citizenship.

⁶ *i.e.* the Italian towns (exclusive of the Greek towns on the south of Italy) as opposed to the foreign colonies founded by Julius and Augustus. See Diet. "colonia." In the time of Claudius all Italians became eligible for service in the praetorian cohorts.

respective ranks; the minor officials discharged their proper functions; and the laws, with the exception of the law of treason, were well administered. The corn tribute, the indirect taxes, and the other sources of public revenue were farmed by companies of Roman knights. His personal interests were entrusted by Tiberius to men of proved integrity, some of whom were even unknown to him except by repute; and once appointed they were retained in their position indefinitely, most of them spending their whole lives and growing old in one and the same employment. Though the populace suffered from the high prices which corn often reached, the Emperor was in no way to blame: indeed he did all that forethought and wealth could do to counteract the effects of bad seasons and losses by sea. He took every precaution that the provinces should not suffer from the imposition of fresh burdens, and that in bearing the old they should be free from the rapacity or cruelty of the officials. Corporal punishment and confiscation of property was no part of his code. He possessed few estates in Italy; the demeanour of his slaves was discreet and modest; and his household was confined to a handful of freedmen. Any dispute between himself and a private individual was invariably referred to the usual procedure of the law courts.

VII. These exemplary habits, marred though they were by an ungraciousness which was always brusque and often caused alarm, were maintained by Tiberius until the death of Drusus altered everything. So long as Drusus was alive they remained unchanged, because Sejanus, while his power was still in its infancy, wished to gain a reputation for virtuous counsel, and feared the vengeance of the man who took no pains to conceal his hatred and who often complained that "though the Emperor's son was alive, another man was summoned to assist in ruling the Empire. How far distant was the day when this other man would be styled the Emperor's colleague? The first steps of ambition on the road to power were hard and steep: but once past the first stage, you would find a host of supporters and partisans to help you on your journey. Already a camp had been constructed at the pleasure of the prefect: troops had been placed at his disposal: his bust was to be seen amidst the

monuments of Cn. Pompeius : and he was to have grandchildren who would be descendants of the family of the Drusi. Henceforth he must be entreated to set bounds to his ambition, that he might be content with what he had got ! ” These bitter complaints were not a rare occurrence, nor were they addressed only to a few intimate friends. Moreover, even Drusus’ most secret thoughts were betrayed by the infidelity of his wife.

VIII. Sejanus therefore resolved to put his plans into execution without further delay. He selected a poison, the slow action of which would resemble the progress of a natural disease. It was administered to Drusus by the eunuch Lydus, as was discovered eight years later.

Throughout his son’s illness, and even in the period between his death and his funeral, Tiberius, without a sign of alarm, or possibly in order to demonstrate his strength of mind, attended the Senate daily. When those members who were of consular rank seated themselves, as a sign of their sorrow, on the ordinary benches, the Emperor reminded them of their dignity and position ; and when the whole assembly burst into tears he stifled his sobs and consoled them in a speech unbroken by any demonstration of grief. “ He was aware,” he said, “ that he might be blamed for thus encountering the gaze of the Senate in the first moments of his affliction, at a time when most mourners could scarcely endure to listen to the words of those most nearly related to them, and could scarcely bear to look upon the light of day. He was far from condemning such weakness : but he had sought a worthier consolation in throwing his whole energy into the affairs of State.” After reflecting sadly upon Augusta’s extreme age, the youth and inexperience of his grandsons, and his own declining years, he requested that the children of Germanicus, who were his only consolation in his affliction, might be sent for. The consuls went out, and having addressed words of encouragement to the young men, brought them in and placed them before the Emperor. Taking them by the hand he said : “ Conscript Fathers, when the father of these boys died, I entrusted them to the care of their uncle, and besought him, though he had children of his

own, to cherish them as his own flesh and blood, to raise them to places of honour, and so to mould their characters that they should do honour to himself and to posterity. Now that Drusus has been taken from us, I address my prayers to you, and before Heaven and our country I conjure you, adopt as your own sons these great-grandchildren of Augustus, the descendants of an illustrious race ; guide them in their ways ; fill my place and do your own duty by them. Nero and Drusus, these shall be your parents. You are so born, that your good or your bad qualities cannot but affect the welfare of the State."

IX. These words were received with much weeping and prayers to Heaven for blessings on the young princes. Had he ended his speech here, pity for him and veneration would have filled the hearts of his audience : but by once more returning to the meaningless theme which had often before excited so much ridicule—the suggestion that the Republic should be restored and that the consuls or some one else should undertake the burden of government—he discredited all that was sincere and genuine in his previous remarks. In pursuance of decrees of the Senate, the same tributes were paid to the memory of Drusus as had been rendered to the memory of Germanicus, with several additions, as is the wont of flattery when it seeks to repeat itself. The funeral procession was particularly noteworthy for the number of statues with which it was graced, the long and stately array comprising the images of Aeneas, the progenitor of the Julian race, of all the Alban kings, of Romulus the founder of the city, and of the Sabine nobility, with Attus Clausus, and the other noble Claudii.

X. In my account of the death of Drusus I have followed the most numerous and the most trustworthy authorities : but I cannot pass over a contemporary rumour which was so persistent that it has not yet been entirely dissipated. The story is that Sejanus, having assured himself of Livia's readiness to participate in his guilt, secured the complicity of the eunuch Lydus by seducing him ; for by reason of his youth and beauty Lydus had gained his master's affections, and had become one of his principal servants. The conspirators having agreed upon the time and place

for the commission of their crime, Sejanus, it is said, with supreme audacity changed their plan, and having in covert terms charged Drusus with meditating an attempt to poison his father, warned Tiberius to beware of the first cup offered him during a banquet at his son's house : deceived by this base insinuation, the old Emperor handed back to Drusus the goblet offered to him at the commencement of the dinner : and Drusus, in his innocence, draining the cup with the natural alacrity of a young man, confirmed the suspicion that, overcome by apprehension and shame, he condemned himself to the death which he had plotted for his father.

XI. This story was widely disseminated ; but, apart from the fact that it is not supported by a single credible authority, it may be promptly refuted. For what man of ordinary common-sense, much less Tiberius with all his wide experience, would, without waiting to hear what his son had to say for himself, offer him an instrument of death, and that too with his own hands and without any possibility of undoing what he had done if he subsequently repented ? Would he not rather have submitted the slave who handed him the poison to examination under torture ? Would he not have endeavoured to discover the originator of the crime ? In short, would he not, in the case of his only son, upon whom hitherto no guilt had been fastened, have exercised the natural circumspection and employed the usual hesitating methods with which he dealt even with strangers ? But the popular belief that there was no crime which Sejanus was not capable of planning, the excessive affection of the Emperor for his favourite, and the hatred which they both inspired, lent credence to any fable, however monstrous ; and, besides, rumour invariably attaches the most tragic details to the deaths of princes. Apart from these considerations, the true history of the crime was published to the world by Apicata, the wife of Sejanus, and was moreover revealed by Eudemus and Lydus under torture. Again, with all the charges raked up against Tiberius, with all the exaggerations of his faults, not one writer has carried his rancour so far as to lay this crime to his account. My object in

repeating and refuting this absurd story has been to dispel false reports by a striking example, and to entreat those into whose hands my work may come not to prefer the incredible inventions of common gossip, so greedily accepted by the multitude, to real facts which have not been adulterated to gratify a passion for the miraculous.

XII. Tiberius pronounced a eulogy upon his son from the Rostra, and the Senate and the populace assumed the demeanour and accents of grief. Their sorrow, however, was more fictitious than genuine, and they secretly rejoiced at the restoration to power of the house of Germanicus. But the prospect of their return to favour, and the ill-disguised ambitions of Agrippina, the mother of Germanicus' children, accelerated their ruin. For when Sejanus saw that the death of Drusus was unavenged, that his murderers went unpunished, and that the public did not grieve for his loss, he became more audacious in his career of crime, and, encouraged by his first success, began to consider schemes for putting out of the way the sons of Germanicus whose succession to the throne appeared certain. He could not poison all three; the fidelity of their guardians and the virtue of their mother being unassailable. He therefore resolved to attack Agrippina's haughty and unbending disposition, and, by exciting against her the inveterate hatred of Augusta and the new-born passions of his accomplice Livia, induced them to denounce her to the Emperor as a woman who, priding herself on the number of her offspring, and relying upon the support of the populace, was aspiring to sovereignty. With this object he availed himself of the clever calumnies of various persons, among whom he selected Julius Postumus as specially qualified to further his ends by reason of his intrigue with Mutilia Prisca, one of Augusta's intimate friends; for Prisca, who exerted considerable influence over Augusta, by working upon the jealousy of the old woman, naturally anxious to retain the power she possessed, contrived to make her the irreconcilable enemy of her grandson's wife. Those who were in the closest touch with Agrippina were also induced to exasperate her haughty spirit by their perfidious suggestions.

XIII. Tiberius, instead of interrupting his usual labours, sought consolation in affairs of State, and busied himself with questions affecting the rights of citizens or with petitions from the dependent nations. At his instance the Senate passed a decree relieving the cities of Cibyra in Asia and Aegium in Achaea, which had suffered serious damage from earthquakes, by a remission of their tribute for a period of three years.

Vibius Serenus, the proconsul of Farther Spain, was condemned on a charge of using violence towards Roman citizens,⁷ and, on account of the inhumanity of his character, was banished to the island of Amorgus.

Carsidius Sacerdos was accused of supplying corn to Tacfarinas, when at war with Rome, but was acquitted; and C. Gracchus was also acquitted on the same charge. Gracchus when a mere child had been taken by his father Sempronius⁸ to the island of Cercina as his companion in exile. Brought up in the midst of outlaws and among people who had no knowledge of refinement, he afterwards made a living as a small merchant trading in Africa and Sicily; but even then he did not escape the perils of a great name. Had not Aelius Lamia and L. Apronius, former governors of Africa, given him their protection, this innocent man would have been ruined by the too brilliant reputation of his unhappy race and by the adversity which had afflicted his father.

XIV. During this year deputations arrived from certain Greek communities, the citizens of Samos demanding for the temple of Juno, and the citizens of Cos for the temple of Aesculapius, the confirmation of their ancient rights of sanctuary. The Samians relied upon a decree of the Amphictyons whose jurisdiction on all questions was supreme at the time when the Greeks, by founding cities in Asia, had made themselves masters of the sea-coast. The Coans' claims were based on equally ancient titles,

⁷ By a "Lex Julia" passed in B.C. 8, it was rendered a criminal offence for any official to execute, torture, scourge, or incarcerate in the public prison any Roman citizen who appealed to the Emperor, and the offence was punishable by outlawry.

⁸ See Book I. ch. 53.

and their city moreover had earned our gratitude, for they had admitted Roman citizens to the temple of Aesculapius at the time when King Mithridates had ordered a general massacre throughout the cities and islands of Asia.

After various, and generally fruitless, complaints from the praetors with reference to the licence prevailing among the actors, the Emperor at last brought this matter before the Senate. He declared that in public life the actors were a constant menace to the general tranquillity and in private life to the honour of the family ; and that the old Oscan farce,⁹ which gave some trifling amusement to the vulgar, had become such a scandalous and notorious form of entertainment, that it required the authority of the Senate to repress it. The actors were accordingly expelled from Italy.

XV. That same year the Emperor suffered a further affliction by the loss of one of the twin sons of Drusus and by the death of an equally loved friend. This was Lucilius Longus, the companion of all his joys and sorrows, and the only senator who had accompanied him during his retirement at Rhodes. Accordingly, notwithstanding the obscurity of his origin, the Senate decreed that Lucilius should receive a public funeral, and that his bust should be placed in the Forum of Augustus, at the public expense.

It will be observed that even at this period every question was dealt with by the Senate. Consequently Lucilius Capito, procurator of Asia, was tried by them when impeached by the province in which he served. In this case the Emperor strenuously protested that he had given Capito no authority except over his slaves and his private revenues, and that if he had usurped the powers of a praetor and employed military assistance, he had acted in contravention of his instructions : on this point they must take the evidence of the Dependency. Accordingly the case was heard, and Capito was condemned. For this act of retribution, and for the justice which they had obtained in the preceding year against C. Silanus, the cities of Asia resolved to dedicate a temple to Tiberius, his mother, and the Senate.

⁹ Plays called "*Fabulae Atellanae*"—originally acted only by amateur performers.

Permission having been accorded, they built the temple ; and Nero returned thanks on their behalf to the Senate and to his grandfather. His speech excited pleasant emotions amongst his audience who, with the memory of Germanicus still fresh in their minds, fancied that once again they looked upon his face and heard the accents of his voice. The young man's modest demeanour and noble presence were indeed worthy of a prince, and particularly endeared him to the Senate because of the perilous position in which he was placed by the notorious enmity of Sejanus.

XVI. About the same time the Emperor brought before the Senate the question of choosing a Flamen Dialis in succession to Servius Maluginensis, now deceased, at the same time submitting proposals for amending the law regulating this appointment. According to the ancient practice, he said, it was necessary to nominate three patricians whose parents had been married by the rite of "confarreatio,"¹⁰ and to select the Flamen from these three : but the choice was now limited owing to the rite of "confarreatio" having fallen into disuse or being now practised by only a few families. He adduced several reasons for this, the principal one being the indifference of both sexes to the rite ; other reasons being the difficulties which attended the ceremony itself, and which were therefore purposely avoided, and the consideration that the man who became this particular Flamen and the woman whom he married were released from parental control. He was therefore of opinion that the former practice should be amended by decree of the Senate or by special legislation, following the precedent of Augustus, who had rendered several severe restrictions imposed by ancient custom more conformable to modern usage. Accordingly, after some discussion of the religious questions involved, it was decided that none of the restrictions affecting the position of the Flamen himself should be removed ; but a law was passed providing that the Flamen's wife should

¹⁰ "Confarreatio" — an ancient marriage ceremony in the presence of the "Pontifex Maximus" or "Flamen Dialis" and ten witnesses: so called from the offering of bread, "far," which was an essential part of the ceremony.

be under 'her husband's control so far as religious rites were concerned, but that in all other matters she should be subject to the ordinary laws governing the position of women. The son of Maluginensis was chosen as his father's successor : and in order to elevate the dignity of the priesthood and to encourage the priests to greater zeal in the performance of their sacred functions, an honorarium of 2,000,000 sesterces was voted to Cornelia, the Vestal Virgin who had succeeded Scantia, and it was resolved that whenever Augusta visited the theatre she should occupy a place among the Vestals.

XVII. In the consulship of Cornelius Cethegus and Visellius Varro, the Pontifices and, following their example, the other priests, in offering up their solemn
A.D. 24. prayers to the gods for the safety of the Emperor, commended Nero and Drusus to the protection of the same deities. This action was prompted less by genuine regard for the young princes than by the spirit of flattery. But in a corrupt society excessive flattery is as dangerous as its entire omission ; and Tiberius, who had never shown any affection for the house of Germanicus, was now irritated beyond all measure by the inclusion of the princes, with their youthful vigour, in the same category as himself, with his declining years. He summoned the Pontifices and questioned them closely, inquiring whether the compliment they had thought fit to pay had been extorted from them by the prayers or by the threats of Agrippina. Though they repudiated this insinuation, he reprimanded them, not, however, with any great severity, for most of them were his own relatives or men of high position in the State. In the Senate, however, he made a speech in which he urged that, for the future, they should avoid filling young and impressionable minds with inordinate pride by prematurely loading them with honours. Sejanus indeed incited him to harsher measures, alleging that the State was divided into two factions as though by a civil war. He declared that there were already some who styled themselves the party of Agrippina, and that unless the movement were checked their numbers would increase : the growing disaffection, he said, would not be arrested by any

other means than the overthrow of one or two of the leaders of the movement.

XVIII. In pursuance of these designs he proceeded to attack C. Silius and Titius Sabinus. The friendship of Germanicus was fatal to these two men. Silius suffered also from having commanded a great army for seven years, from having earned triumphal distinctions in the German war, and for having conquered Sacrovir; besides, his fall from such a height of fame was bound to inspire others with greater terror than the ruin of a lesser man. Many thought that he aggravated his offence by his own indiscretion in rashly and extravagantly boasting that his own troops had remained loyal while mutinies were breaking out among the rest, and that Tiberius would not have remained Emperor had his legions too desired a revolution. Tiberius regarded such a presumptuous claim as a menace to his own position and as laying him under an obligation which he was unable to fulfil. For good services may be gladly accepted so long as it appears possible to requite them, but when they go beyond that point gratitude is succeeded by dislike.

XIX. Silius' wife was Sosia Galla, and the affection of Agrippina for her earned her the Emperor's disfavour. It was decided that the first assault should be made upon these two, and that Sabinus should be allowed a temporary respite. The agent chosen to lead the attack was Varro, the consul, who, under pretext of an hereditary quarrel, consented to gratify the passionate hatred of Sejanus at the cost of his personal honour. The accused man petitioned for a brief adjournment until his prosecutor's term of office as consul expired, but he was opposed by the Emperor, who declared that it was customary for officials to arraign private persons, and that it was undesirable to infringe the authority of the consul upon whose vigilance "the safety of the State" depended. It was characteristic of Tiberius to cloak a novel crime under the guise of an ancient formula.¹¹ Accordingly with great solemnity, as

¹¹ The formula here alluded to is that which was employed in decrees of the Senate authorising the consuls in a national crisis to take any measures they deemed necessary for the safety

though the laws had any part in the trial of Silius, as though Varro were a real consul, and as though the Republic were still in existence, the Senate was convened. The accused, however, either maintained complete silence, or, if he ventured to utter a few words in his own defence, only made it perfectly clear that he knew to whose resentment he owed his persecution. He was charged with having connived at the rebellion of Sacrovir by his prolonged concealment of the real intentions of that chief, with having sullied his victory by his subsequent rapacity, and with being responsible for the conduct of Sosia, his wife. There is no doubt that they could not extricate themselves from the charge of extortion; but the separate counts of the indictment were all merged in a charge of treason, and Silius anticipated his impending condemnation by suicide.

XX. Nevertheless the confiscation of his property was rigorously insisted upon; not, however, with the object of making any restoration to the tax-payers of the province, none of whom preferred any claim. But the gifts which he had owed to the generosity of Augustus were seized, and a detailed computation of the sums thus received was made with a view to their being repaid to the Imperial exchequer, this being the first occasion on which Tiberius betrayed any interest in another man's money. Sosia was condemned to banishment on the motion of Asinius Gallus, who also proposed that half her property should be confiscated and the other half left to her children. This proposal was opposed by Manius Lepidus, by whose efforts a fourth was handed over to the prosecutors in compliance with the provisions of the law, while the remainder was secured for the children.

My researches have led me to the conclusion that this Lepidus was, for the period in which he lived, a man of great sagacity and strength of character: for several instances are recorded in which he mitigated the severity which was prompted by the adulation of his contemporaries. At the same time he must have possessed of the State—a measure in some respects similar to a proclamation of martial law at the present time.

his share of tact, for he retained uninterruptedly throughout his life his influence in the State and the favour of Tiberius. This raises a question in my mind, whether the favour which princes bestow upon some men, and the disfavour with which they regard others, is, like other things, determined by fate, by the destiny which is allotted to us at our birth, or whether something is due to our own good sense, which permits us to steer a middle course between an uncompromising contumacy and a humiliating servility, avoiding both the degradation of self-seeking and the perils of independence.

Messalinus Cotta, equally illustrious by descent, but of a very different character, proposed that the Senate should pass a decree providing that officials, though their own innocence and even ignorance of misdemeanours which were not their own were beyond question, should be held responsible for any offences committed by their wives in the provinces and punished as though the guilt were theirs.

XXI. Proceedings were next instituted against Calpurnius Piso. I have related how this proud and haughty noble had proclaimed in the Senate his intention of retiring from Rome in consequence of the intrigues of the informers, and how, with a contemptuous indifference to the power of Augusta, he had had the hardihood to prosecute Urgulania and to summon her out of the Emperor's palace.¹² Though for the moment Tiberius had respected the rights of a citizen and allowed this conduct to pass, he could not dismiss from his mind the angry feelings which it had excited, and even if the first transport of indignation had abated, yet the memory still remained. Piso was accused by Q. Granus of having privily spoken against the majesty of the Emperor, and further with keeping poison in his house and with entering the Senate House armed with a sword. The latter charges were dropped as being too monstrous to be true : but Piso was put upon his trial upon the other charges, which were brought forward in great numbers. The trial, however, was never completed owing to the timely death of the accused.

¹² Book II. ch. 34.

The Senate also considered a report upon Cassius Severus, then living in exile. He was a man of low origin and evil life, but a powerful orator. His inordinate passion for involving himself in perpetual quarrels and feuds resulted in his being banished to Crete by a judgment of the Senate delivered under oath.¹³ Persisting in his former practices in Crete, he incurred fresh hatred and revived old enmities against himself. His property was now confiscated, he was outlawed, and he passed the rest of his days on the rock of Seriphus.

XXII. About the same time the praetor Plautius Silvanus, for some unknown reason, threw his wife Apronia out of the window. When taken before the Emperor by his father-in-law L. Apronius, his mind appeared to be disordered, and in reply to the questions put to him, he alleged that he had been in a deep sleep and accordingly knew nothing of what his wife was doing, and that she had in reality committed suicide. Tiberius at once visited and inspected the bedchamber, in which he discovered signs of a violent struggle. He reported his observations to the Senate, and judges were appointed to try the culprit. Urgulania, however, his grandmother, sent her grandson a dagger. The close friendship of Augusta with Urgulania lent colour to the supposition that this was in effect done at the Emperor's suggestion. Silvanus, having vainly endeavoured to stab himself, had his veins opened. Numan-tina, his former wife, was shortly afterwards accused of having bereft him of his reason by means of incantations and sorceries, but was acquitted.

XXIII. During this year Rome was at last relieved from the burden of the long war with the Numidian Tacfarinas. Up to this time the Roman commanders, as soon as they considered that they had done enough to merit triumphal honours, were content to leave the enemy in peace. There were now three laurel-crowned statues in the city, but Tacfarinas was still plundering Africa. He now had the additional support of the Moors, who gladly embraced an opportunity for warfare in exchange for the rule of the king's freedmen and the government of slaves

¹³ See Note to Book I. ch. 74.

to which they had been abandoned by the youthful indifference of Ptolemaeus, Juba's son. The King of the Garamantes acted as the receiver of his spoils and the companion of his raids, and though he did not take the field at the head of an army, he despatched to the aid of his ally some light troops, whose numbers, owing to the distance from the scene of operations, were much exaggerated. Even the province supplied Tacfarinas with recruits: every needy adventurer flocked to his standard. After the operations of Blaesus, the Emperor, acting on the assumption that the province had been cleared of the enemy, ordered the ninth legion to be recalled, and P. Dolabella the proconsul of the year did not venture to retain them, for he feared the orders of the Emperor more than the chances of war.

XXIV. Tacfarinas accordingly spread a rumour that other nations in other parts of the world were rending the Roman Empire, that the Romans were therefore quietly evacuating Africa, and that those who were still left might be cut off without difficulty if all who preferred freedom to slavery united to fall upon them. Having by these means augmented the strength of his forces he encamped opposite Thubuscum and invested that town. Dolabella, however, collected all the troops at his disposal, and, thanks to the terror inspired by the Roman name and to the fact that the Numidians cannot withstand a charge of our infantry, raised the siege at his first approach, and proceeded to fortify all the advantageous positions: at the same time he beheaded some of the chiefs of the Musulamii who were preparing to revolt. Profiting by the experience of several campaigns which had taught him the futility of attempting to catch his mobile enemy with one heavy column, he summoned Ptolemaeus and his tribesmen to his assistance, and formed his army into four divisions commanded by legates or tribunes, while picked Mauritanian officers led some marauding detachments. Dolabella himself supervised the operations of all the different corps.

XXV. Before long, news was brought that the Numidians had occupied a half-ruined fortress, called Auzea, formerly burnt by themselves, and had fixed their huts there,

trusting to the natural strength of the position, which was entirely surrounded by vast forests. The light cohorts and the cavalry were instantly hurried off at full speed without being informed of their destination. At daybreak they came upon the natives who were still half-asleep and whose horses were either hobbled or straying about the various pastures, and to the sound of the trumpet and with fierce cries they charged them. On the Roman side the infantry were in close order, the cavalry in their appointed positions, and every disposition made for battle. The enemy on the other hand were totally unprepared: they had no arms, no order, no concerted plan: they were seized, slaughtered, or captured like a flock of sheep. Angered by the memory of his former hardships, and finding himself at last face to face with the foe who always eluded the engagement that he had so often endeavoured to bring on, every soldier in the Roman army determined now to glut his desire for vengeance and for blood. Word was passed along the ranks that all were to pursue Tacfarinas, who was well known from his many encounters with them; for it was said that the war could only be ended by the death of the enemy's leader. But Tacfarinas seeing his guards struck down, his son already a prisoner, and the Romans swarming round him, rushed to meet the blows that were being showered upon him and escaped captivity by a death that was not unavenged. Thus the war was ended.

XXVI. Tiberius, to oblige Sejanus, refused Dolabella's request for triumphal honours lest the reputation of Blaesus, the favourite's uncle, should be eclipsed. But while this failed to enhance the fame of Blaesus, the refusal of the coveted honour only magnified the glory of Dolabella's achievements; for with a smaller army he had succeeded in taking important prisoners, in killing the enemy's commander, and in earning the credit for having brought the war to a conclusion. On his arrival he was attended by envoys of the Garamantes, who had rarely been seen in Rome. Terrified by the death of Tacfarinas and by the consciousness of their own guilt, the Garamantes had sent them to make amends to the Roman people. In

recognition of the good services rendered by Ptolemaeus during this war an ancient custom was revived : a senator was appointed to take him an ivory sceptre and an embroidered robe, the Senate's gifts in olden times, and to salute him by the titles of King, Ally, and Friend.

XXVII. In the same summer Italy was threatened with a slave war, but owing to a fortunate coincidence the germs of the movement were destroyed before they had time to produce any serious results. The leading spirit of the revolt, T. Curtisius, formerly a soldier in a praetorian cohort, first summoned secret assemblies at Brundisium and the neighbouring towns, and then posted up public proclamations urging the fierce country slaves living in the remote forests of that region to make a fight for their freedom. But at this moment, as though sent by Providence, three ships of war arrived in the port for the purpose of protecting the navigation. Cutius Lupus the quaestor, who, in accordance with ancient usage, had charge of the public pasture lands, was also in this district. He at once put himself at the head of a force of marines, and crushed the conspiracy at its birth. The tribune Staius with a strong detachment was hastily despatched by the Emperor to the scene of the disturbances, and the ringleader and his hardiest supporters were captured and taken off to Rome, where there was considerable apprehension owing to the multitude of slaves in the city ; their numbers having been growing at an extraordinary rate, while the free-born population was decreasing daily.

XXVIII. The same consulship afforded a terrible illustration of the misery and the inhumanity of the period. A father was put upon his trial and the prosecutor was his own son. The two, who were both named Vibius Serenus, were brought into the Senate. The father had been fetched back from exile, and now, his body covered only with filthy rags, he stood in fetters while his son declaimed against him. The younger man, elegantly dressed for the occasion and with a cheerful countenance, appearing both as informer and as witness, charged his father with having plotted against the Emperor, and with having sent agents to Gaul to incite the provinces to revolt. He also accused

Caecilius Cornutus, an ex-praetor, with having supplied money for the purpose. Cornutus, tortured by anxiety and feeling that his peril was so great that he was practically doomed, without waiting to be convicted put himself to death. The accused, on the other hand, remained undismayed. He turned upon his son, shook his chains, and invoked the vengeance of Heaven, imploring the gods, if it must be so, to send him back to exile where at least he might live far from such depravity, but sooner or later to punish his unnatural son. He protested, too, that Cornutus was innocent and had been terrified by a false charge. The truth of his statement, he said, might be easily proved if the other conspirators were produced, for he could not have plotted to murder the Emperor and to bring about a revolution with only one accomplice.

XXIX. Thereupon the prosecutor named Cn. Lentulus and Seius Tubero, to the dismay of the Emperor, who thus heard two of the most prominent men in the State and his own intimate friends—one of them, Lentulus, a man of great age, and the other, Tubero, an invalid—accused of conspiring to foment rebellion and revolution. They were, however, immediately acquitted: and when the slaves of Serenus were examined under torture, their evidence proved distinctly unfavourable to the prosecutor. Maddened by crime and terrified by the clamours of the populace, who threatened him with the condemned cell, with the Tarpeian Rock, and with the parricide's death, he fled from the city. He was brought back from Ravenna, however, and compelled to proceed with the prosecution. For Tiberius did not attempt to conceal his inveterate hatred of the exile Serenus, who after the condemnation of Libo¹⁴ had written to the Emperor a letter in which, after complaining that he had received no reward for his zealous services on that occasion, he had the temerity to make certain observations which were evidently too disrespectful for the proud and sensitive ears to which they were addressed. Now, eight years afterwards, Tiberius recalled this incident, and charged Serenus with various misdemeanours in the interval, not-

¹⁴ See Book II. ch. 27 *et seq.*

withstanding the contradictory evidence of the slaves, ascribed by him to obstinacy.

XXX. It was proposed, on the motion of various senators, that Serenus should be punished according to ancient precedent,¹⁵ but Tiberius, in order to minimise the odium which he dreaded, interposed his veto; and when Gallus Asinius suggested that the condemned man should be confined in Gyarus or Donusa, the Emperor rejected the proposition for the reason that both islands were deficient in water, and that those whose life was to be spared should be able to obtain the means to support life. Serenus accordingly was taken back to Amorgus.

In consequence of the suicide of Cornutus, a motion was considered by the Senate for abolishing the rewards of prosecutors in cases in which a person accused on a charge of treason committed suicide before the end of his trial. The Senate was prepared to vote in favour of this motion, when the Emperor, with a harshness that belied his usual disposition, proclaimed himself on the side of the prosecutors, and complained that the laws were set at naught and that the State was on the edge of a precipice. "It were better," he said, "to abolish all justice at once than to remove the guardians who guaranteed its maintenance." And so the informers, a class of men who were brought into existence for the ruin of society and whom no system of penalties could ever keep in check, were now actually encouraged by the promise of rewards.

XXXI. This long series of painful events was interrupted by a pleasant little episode. When C. Cominius, a Roman knight, was convicted of having written some libellous verses attacking the Emperor, Tiberius yielded to the intercessions of his brother, who was a senator, and pardoned the offender. This incident, while proving that Tiberius was capable of better things and that he appreciated the value of a reputation for clemency, only emphasises the strange perversity by which he habitually preferred severity. For it was certainly not a lack of discernment which led him astray; moreover, it does not need a keen insight to distinguish between the genuine enthusiasm and

¹⁵ See note to Book II. ch. 32.

the spurious imitation thereof with which an Emperor's acts are received. Ordinarily preserving a studied demeanour and affecting a halting delivery, whenever he undertook to defend anybody he spoke with unusual fluency and absence of restraint. And yet, when P. Suillius, formerly quaestor of Germanicus, was convicted of having taken a bribe in a case which was to come before him for trial, and was about to be sentenced] to banishment from Italy, Tiberius proposed that he should be confined in some island, and supported his contention with so much insistence that he pledged himself under oath that his proposal was for the public good. At the moment Tiberius was blamed for his inhumanity, but his action was highly commended at a later date after the return of Suillius; for the succeeding generation found Suillius powerful and venal, enjoying the friendship of the Emperor Claudius which he long used to his own, never to the public, advantage.

It was proposed that a similar punishment should be inflicted upon the senator Catus Firmius for having brought a false charge of treason against his own sister. I have already given an account of the way in which Catus had first trapped Libo, and then denounced and ruined him.¹⁶ In memory of this service, though ostensibly for other reasons, Tiberius now deprecated sentence of exile being passed against him: he raised no objection, however, to his expulsion from the Senate.

XXXII. I am aware that many of the facts which I have recorded, and which I shall hereafter record, may appear trivial and unimportant; but these annals must not be compared with the works of writers who have compiled histories of Ancient Rome. Great wars and sieges, the defeat and capture of kings, or, if they turned their attention to domestic affairs, the quarrels between consuls and tribunes, agrarian and corn laws, and the struggles between the plebeians and the aristocracy, have provided these historians with a wide scope for their genius. The field for my researches, on the other hand, is restricted and inglorious. In the period with which I have to deal, peace

¹⁶ Book II. ch. 27 *et seq.*

was unbroken or but feebly disturbed, Rome was miserable and depressed, and the Emperor evinced no desire to extend the limits of the Empire. At the same time it will not be without advantage to examine facts which, however trivial at first sight, not infrequently prove to be the forerunners of events of the highest importance.

XXXIII. The government of all nations and city-states is either a democracy, an aristocracy, or a monarchy. A form of constitution which is the result of a blending of the three principal types, however admirable in theory, is difficult to realise in practice, and if realised can never endure. In the past, the lower orders were supreme in Rome or else the Senate held the upper hand ; and in those days it was necessary to study the character of the populace and the methods by which it could best be kept in check : in those days a man's reputation for keen political insight depended upon his knowledge of the temper of the Senate and the patricians. Now that the political conditions have entirely changed and the Roman constitution has become in reality nothing more or less than a monarchy, the events which form the subject-matter of my investigations and of the present work have acquired a peculiar significance : for those who are able to distinguish between good and evil, between that which is expedient and that which is harmful, by the light of their own reason, are few in number ; most men are taught by the experience of others. But if my theme is instructive, it is hardly delectable. The descriptions of countries, the vicissitudes of battle, the glorious deaths of great commanders, rivet the attention and sustain the interest of the reader. But unfortunately I can only offer a long record of cruel orders, perpetual prosecutions, treacherous friendships, the ruin of innocent persons, and trials all terminating in the same way ; and I cannot escape the wearisome monotony of the events with which I have to deal. One word more. Ancient writers seldom suffer from captious criticism : nobody cares whether you take greater pleasure in extolling the Carthaginian armies or the Roman. On the other hand the descendants of many who, in the reign of Tiberius, were subjected to punishment or to infamy, are alive at this day : and though the families

may be extinct, you will still find some who, owing to the similarity of their character, imagine that your description of the misdeeds of others is an attack upon themselves. Even your pictures of famous and honourable men will excite hostility, for the contrast with their opposites will appear too pointed.

I now return to my subject.

XXXIV. In the consulship of Cornelius Cossus and Asinius Agrippa, Cremutius Cordus was prosecuted on a novel charge, the first of its kind. He was accused of having published a history in which, after eulogising M. Brutus, he had called C. Cassius "The last of the Romans." The prosecutors were Satrius Secundus and Pinarius Natta, dependants of Sejanus. This augured ill for the accused, as did also the angry countenance with which the Emperor listened to the defence. Resolved to sacrifice his life, Cremutius made the following speech :—

"Conscript Fathers, my words, and my words alone, are being condemned; so innocent am I of any guilty deeds. But even my words imply no attack upon the Emperor or the Emperor's mother, and the law of treason affects none but these. I am said to have praised Brutus and Cassius: many writers have narrated their exploits, and none have failed to do them honour. Titus Livius, who was pre-eminent for his eloquent writing and his veracity as a historian, bestowed such praise upon Cn. Pompeius that Augustus called him 'The Pompeian;' but this did not spoil their friendship. Scipio, Afranius, this same Cassius, and this same Brutus are nowhere styled by him robbers and parricides, as they are now stigmatised: but in several places he speaks of them as illustrious personages. The works of Asinius Pollio contain a remarkable tribute to their memories; and Messalla Corvinus alludes to Cassius as his own general: but both these writers enjoyed honours and riches to the end of their days. When Marcus Cicero wrote a book in which he lauded Cato to the skies, what action did Caesar, the Dictator, take? He answered Cicero in a written speech as though he were pleading his case before a court of law. The letters of Antonius and the

speeches of Brutus contain many venomous, though false, invectives against Augustus : the poems of Bibaculus and Catullus are full of vituperation of the Caesars. But the Great Julius and the Great Augustus endured these insults and passed them over in silence. Was this self-restraint ? or was it part of a wise and prudent policy ? For treat a libel as beneath contempt, and it will fade into oblivion : but if you show anger, you will appear to admit the accuracy of the picture.

XXXV. "I will make no mention of the Greeks, although they enjoyed not only liberty but even licence with impunity ; if any action ever was taken, words were punished only by words. But in truth there has always been absolute freedom without fear of censure to express an opinion upon those whom death has removed from the influence of hatred or favour. Am I an active partisan of Brutus and Cassius ? Am I inflaming the passions of the populace by my harangues and inciting them to civil war, while Brutus and Cassius are in arms on the field of Philippi ? Have they not been dead these seventy years ? And as we may know their faces by their statues, which even their conqueror did not destroy, does not history preserve some portion of their memory ? Posterity renders to every man the honour which is his due ; and though I am fated to be condemned, Brutus and Cassius will still be remembered, and even I shall not be forgotten."

He then left the Chamber and put himself to death by starvation. The Senate decreed that his books should be burnt by the aediles ; but they have been preserved, hidden for a time, and subsequently published. How ridiculous is the folly of those who imagine that their ephemeral power can extinguish that which even future ages will not let die ! Persecute genius, and its influence is sure to grow ; whence it is that kings of foreign nations, and others who have followed their cruel example, have only procured dishonour for themselves and glory for their victims.

XXXVI. Throughout this year indictment followed indictment in an unbroken succession. Even during the great Latin Festival ¹⁷ when Drusus, the prefect of the city,

¹⁷ See Dict.

had just taken his seat in court for the purpose of formally inaugurating his period of office, Calpurnius Salvianus came before him to denounce Sextus Marius. This act of desecration was publicly censured by the Emperor and resulted in Salvianus being sent into exile.

The inhabitants of Cyzicus were impeached collectively on a charge of neglecting the cult of Augustus, and, in addition, of using violence towards Roman citizens. They were deprived of the liberty which they had earned in the war with Mithridates, in the course of which they withstood a siege, and, by their own constancy, quite as much as owing to the assistance they received from Lucullus, succeeded in repulsing that king.

Fonteius Capito, on the other hand, formerly proconsul of Asia, was acquitted, the falsity of the charges brought against him by Vibius Serenus being clearly proved. No harm, however, accrued to Serenus on that account. The popular hatred only served to make his position more secure. So long as an informer was sufficiently uncompromising in his methods, he enjoyed a kind of inviolability : only the petty and insignificant members of the class were visited with pains and penalties for their misdeeds.

XXXVII. About this date the province of Farther Spain sent a deputation to the Senate praying for permission to follow the example of Asia and erect a shrine to Tiberius and his mother. The Emperor, who was habitually resolute in refusing to accept mere empty compliments, considering it desirable to reply to the insinuation that on a former occasion he had yielded to the promptings of a vain ambition, seized the opportunity for delivering a speech in the following terms :—

“ I am well aware, Conscript Fathers, that there are many who have deplored my want of firmness in not opposing a similar petition recently addressed to you by the communities of Asia. I therefore propose to explain both my former silence and my future intentions. Remembering that Augustus did not prohibit the dedication of a temple in Pergamum to himself and to the city of Rome, I, who regard all the words and actions of my great predecessor as laws by which I am bound, followed the

precedent which he had sanctioned all the more readily when I found that the worship, of which I was to be the object, was to be combined with the worship of the Senate. But though it may be excusable to have accepted such an honour in a single instance, to allow every province to enshrine our image among the statues of the gods would be sheer pride and vainglory: moreover, the especial veneration in which Augustus is now held will fade and perish, if flattery is permitted to lavish such honours with reckless and indiscriminate profusion.

XXXVIII. "Conscript Fathers, I am mortal; I discharge a man's duties; and it is enough for me to fill the highest place in the State—of this I ask you to bear witness, and this I desire posterity to remember. And I shall be more than content if future ages will pay my memory the tribute of believing that I was worthy of my noble descent, careful of your interests, firm in the midst of danger, and not afraid to incur enmity or hatred in the public cause. My temples, my fairest images and the most abiding, I shall find in your hearts. For temples which are built of stone may, if the judgment of posterity turns to hatred, be scorned and shunned as ghastly sepulchres. To the allied nations, to the citizens of Rome, to the Gods of Heaven, I address my prayer; beseeching the Gods to grant me, even unto my life's end, peace of mind and the understanding of justice, both human and divine; and beseeching those others, when I am called upon to pay the debt of nature, to bestow upon my deeds some meed of praise and to speak my name with kindly remembrance."

Henceforth Tiberius persisted in treating with scorn all proposals to make him an object of worship.¹⁸ His conduct

¹⁸ Furneaux remarks:—"That his refusal was not so persistent as Tacitus supposed, would appear from an inscription recording the erection in A.D. 29 of a Temple to Tiberius (apparently without the addition of Rome or the Senate) in Cyprus: also from an inscription, whether of temple or altar, 'Romae et Imp. Ti. Caesari Augusto sacrum' at Mograwa in Africa Byzacena. In Italy 'flamines Tiberii' are found in one or two places." The evidence of the inscriptions, however, does not appear to be altogether inconsistent with what Tacitus says. Suetonius, in his life of Tiberius (ch. 26), also says that Tiberius prohibited decrees assigning temples and priests to himself.

in this respect was variously ascribed to modesty, to diffidence, and even to pusillanimity. Those who supported the last opinion contended that "the noblest of mankind have always had the loftiest aspirations : it was thus that Hercules and Bacchus among the Greeks, and Quirinus among the Romans had obtained a place among the gods."¹⁹ Augustus chose the better way in hoping for a similar reward. All else princes could instantly command. One thing alone they must strive incessantly to obtain—a glorious immortality. If fame is scorned, virtue is scorned too."

XXXIX. Intoxicated by his extraordinary success, and urged on by the desires of an impatient woman (for Livia eagerly insisted upon the promised marriage), Sejanus addressed a memorial to the Emperor. It was the custom at this period, it may be remarked, to address the Emperor in writing even though he was present. The memorial of Sejanus was in the following form :—"He had," he said, "received so many gracious favours from the hands of Augustus, the Emperor's father, and so many tokens of approbation from Tiberius himself, that he had formed the habit of confiding his hopes and prayers to the ears of the Emperors before even submitting them to the gods. He had never sued for garish distinction : he preferred to watch and to toil like a simple soldier for the safety of his Emperor. He had, notwithstanding, attained the highest possible distinction in being thought worthy of an alliance with the house of Caesar."²⁰ This was the origin of his hopes : and, as he had heard that Augustus, when seeking a husband for his daughter, had had some thoughts of selecting him from the Roman knights, so now, if a husband was wanted for Livia, he begged the Emperor to remember a friend who would look for nothing beyond the intrinsic honour of the alliance. He had no wish to divest himself of the duties with which he had been charged : he was satisfied if he could secure his house against the unjust attacks of Agrippina ; and even that was only for

¹⁹ Compare Horace, Odes III. 3.

²⁰ Referring to the betrothal of the daughter of Sejanus to Claudius : see Book III. ch. 29.

the sake of his children, for he himself would be well content with the years which he had been privileged to pass under the reign of such an Emperor."

XL. In reply Tiberius, after praising the devotion of Sejanus and touching lightly upon the favours he had bestowed upon him, asked for time for mature consideration. "Other men," he said, "had only to consider their own interests : but with princes it was different, inasmuch as in their management of affairs of the highest importance they must pay due regard to public opinion. For this reason he refrained from making the obvious reply, that Livia might decide for herself whether, after having been married to Drusus, she should marry again, or whether she should remain a widow in her late husband's household : she had her mother and her grandmother, who were her natural advisers. He would be quite candid. If Livia's marriage split Caesar's house, so to speak, into two factions, the smouldering hatred of Agrippina would burst into a blaze of fury. Even as it was, the jealousy of these two women betrayed itself in an animosity by which the children of his two sons were being set at enmity. What then would happen if the feud were intensified by the proposed marriage?" "You are deceived, Sejanus," he went on, "if you imagine that it would be possible for you to remain in your present rank, or that Livia, once the wife of C. Caesar, and then the wife of Drusus, will be disposed to end her days as the wife of a mere Roman knight. Suppose I were to give my consent, do you believe that the Romans who have seen her brother, her father, and all our race occupying the highest places in the State, would acquiesce in my decision? True, you wish to remain in your present position; but these officials and great men who, in spite of you, break into your privacy and consult you on every question, make no secret of saying that you have long since been elevated above equestrian rank and have far exceeded the relations which subsisted between my father and his friends; and their jealousy of you makes them bring accusations against me. Augustus, you say, contemplated bestowing his daughter's hand upon a Roman knight. Is it astonishing that, distracted by anxieties of

all kinds, and foreseeing the immeasurably exalted position which the man, whom he placed beyond reach of rivalry by such an alliance, would inevitably attain, Augustus should have mentioned in conversation the names of C. Proculeius and some others who were noted for living a retired life and for taking no part whatever in politics ? But if we allow ourselves to be influenced by the hesitation which Augustus displayed, must not his final choice, which rested first with Agrippa, and subsequently with myself, weigh all the more heavily with us ? For the sake of our friendship I have not withheld these considerations from you : but I do not intend to stand in the way of your projects or those of Livia. My own secret designs, the ties by which I am planning to unite you still more closely to myself, I will for the present pass over in silence. I will only say this, that there is no eminence to which your virtues and your devotion to me do not make you worthy to attain ; and at the proper time I shall not hesitate to say so either to the Senate or to the people."

XLI. Sejanus wrote again, this time without mentioning the marriage project. Graver anxieties now occupied his mind. He protested against the secret suspicions, the vulgar gossip, and the growing jealousy with which he was menaced. As he was reluctant to weaken his influence by refusing admittance to the eager crowds which flocked to his house to pay him court, and equally anxious not to give a handle to his calumniators by receiving them, he adopted the expedient of urging Tiberius to reside in some pleasant spot away from Rome. This plan promised to afford him numerous advantages : access to the Emperor would be subject to his permission ; he would to a great extent be in a position to control the correspondence by means of the soldiers who carried the letters ; the Emperor, already advanced in years and enervated by retirement, would readily transfer to him the burden of Empire ; and, finally, by ridding himself of the host of courtiers who surrounded him he would disarm the envy with which he was regarded, and by banishing the empty parade, would redouble the reality, of his power. Accordingly, proceeding step by step, he began abusing the bustle

of the city, the crowds, and the multitudes which flocked to the Palace, and extolling the blessings of peace and solitude, in which, relieved from tedious routine and petty wranglings, the Emperor could be free to give his whole attention to matters of real importance.

XLII. While Tiberius was still hesitating, it so happened that the trial of Votienus Montanus, a noted wit, took place, and finally convinced the Emperor that it would be better for him to avoid the meetings of the Senate and the unpleasant truths about himself to which he was often compelled to listen. Votienus was accused of having insulted the Emperor, and Aemilius, a military man who was called as a witness, in his anxiety to prove the case against the accused, repeated every word he had heard, and, in spite of the shouts of the senators and their efforts to drown his voice, persisted with great vehemence. Thus Tiberius was forced to listen to the vituperation with which he was secretly assailed; and he was so deeply affected that he declared he would refute the calumnies of which he was the victim either then and there or at a special inquiry. All the entreaties of his friends and the flattery of the whole Senate hardly sufficed to calm him. The punishment for treason was inflicted upon Votienus: and the Emperor, knowing that he was reproached for his merciless severity towards prisoners upon their trial, adhered to his rigorous methods more obstinately than ever. When Lentulus Gaetulicus, the consul-elect, proposed that Aquilia, who had been prosecuted for her adultery with Varius Ligur, should suffer the penalties imposed by the Julian Law, Tiberius condemned her to exile; and Apidius Merula was by his orders struck off the roll of senators, for refusing to take the oath to maintain the ordinances of Augustus.²¹

XLIII. After this, deputations were received from Lacedaemon and Messene with reference to their claims to the temple of Diana Limnatis. The Lacedaemonians affirmed on the authority of chroniclers and poets that this temple had been built by their ancestors and in their own land: that it had indeed been taken from them in war by Philip of Macedon: but that it had been subsequently

²¹ See note on Book I. ch. 72.

restored to them by a decision of C. Caesar and M. Antonius. The Messenians, on the other hand, contended that there had been an ancient division of the Peloponnese between the different descendants of Hercules, that the field of Denthelia in which the shrine was situated had fallen to the share of their king, and that records of the transaction engraved on marble or brass monuments were still extant: that if appeal were made to the testimony of poets and chroniclers, they could produce more numerous and more authentic examples supporting their case: that Philip's decision was not an arbitrary exercise of power but in strict accordance with the facts of the case, and that it had been confirmed by the subsequent decisions of King Antigonus and of Mummius, the Roman general: and that the Milesians, who had been chosen as arbitrators by both States, and finally Atidius Geminus, praetor of Achaea, had given a similar award in their favour. The contention of the Messenians was accordingly upheld.

The people of Segesta petitioned for the restoration of the ancient and ruined temple of Venus on Mount Eryx. Their references to the well-known tradition respecting its origin were very gratifying to Tiberius; and he willingly consented, as a descendant of the goddess, to undertake the rebuilding of her shrine.

A petition from the city of Massilia was the next subject for discussion. It was held that their case was supported by the precedent of P. Rutilius, who, having been banished from Rome, had been made a citizen of Smyrna by the people of that town. Following this example, Vulcatius Moschus when condemned to exile had been admitted as a citizen of Massilia, and had bequeathed his estate to his new country.

XLIV. Two men of high rank died this year, Cn. Lentulus and L. Domitius. In addition to a consulship and triumphal honours for his victories over the Gaetuli, Lentulus could claim the rare distinction of having endured poverty nobly in his younger days and then, having amassed great wealth by perfectly innocent means, of having comported himself modestly in his good fortune. Domitius shone by the reflected glory of his father, who in the civil

war held command of the sea until he joined first the party of Antonius, and later that of Caesar. His grandfather was slain at the battle of Pharsalia fighting for the aristocrats. He himself was selected as the husband of the younger Antonia, the daughter of Octavia. Subsequently he crossed the Elbe at the head of an army and penetrated farther into Germany than any previous commander ; and for his exploits on that occasion he received triumphal decorations.

Lucius Antonius, a member of an illustrious but unfortunate family, also died about this date. His father Jullus Antonius was put to death for his adultery with Julia, and Lucius, then a mere youth, was sent by Augustus, whose sister's grandson he was, to the city of Massilia, where he was kept, ostensibly for the purpose of study, but actually in exile. Nevertheless honours were accorded him at his death, and, in pursuance of a senatorial decree, his bones were laid in the tomb of the Octavii.

XLV. In the same consulship a shocking crime was committed in Nearer Spain. The country being at peace, L. Piso, the praetor of the province, was travelling without any precautions when he was suddenly attacked on the road by a peasant of the Terrestine tribe and killed at the first blow. Mounting his horse, the assassin fled, and, having reached the woods, turned loose the horse, and plunging into the rocky and pathless wilds succeeded in eluding his pursuers. But he did not escape for long : for his horse was captured and taken through the neighbouring villages, where it was known to whom it belonged. The fugitive was discovered and submitted to torture with a view to compelling him to disclose the names of his accomplices ; but he cried aloud, in his native language, that it was useless to question him ; that his partners in guilt might stand by and watch his sufferings, but that no agony would drag the truth from him. When on the following day he was taken out to be tortured again, by a supreme effort he broke away from his guards and dashed his head against a stone with such force that he died immediately. It was generally accepted that Piso was a victim to a plot in which the Terrestine tribe was concerned ; for he had been exacting the payment of some moneys which had been embezzled

from the public treasury with a rigorous severity which the natives could not endure.

XLVI. In the consulship of Lentulus Gaetulicus and C. Calvisius triumphal decorations were awarded to Poppaeus Sabinus for having crushed some mountain tribes of Thrace. The wild life of the high-lands rendered these people exceptionally fierce and savage. But apart from their natural ferocity, the primary cause for their revolt was to be found in their repugnance to the forced levies of the Romans and their reluctance to give up their best fighting men to the Roman army. They had never been in the habit of rendering obedience even to their own kings except at the dictates of mere caprice; they were accustomed to appoint their own officers; and they habitually refused to fight except on their own frontiers. They were now obsessed by the idea, fostered by common report, that it was the intention of the Romans to tear them from their homes, intermingle them with other races, and transport them to distant lands. But before commencing hostilities they sent envoys to remind the Romans of their previous friendship and submission to the Roman rule, undertaking to remain steadfast in their former loyalty if their patience were not overtaxed by the imposition of fresh burdens: but if the Romans sought to treat them as a conquered race and to subject them to slavery, they had, they declared, their swords and their warriors, and the courage to choose either liberty or death. At the same time they ostentatiously removed their wives and relatives to their fortresses in the rocky mountains, and menaced the Romans with the prospect of an arduous, obstinate, and sanguinary war.

XLVII. With the object of gaining time to concentrate his forces, Sabinus sent conciliatory replies. But when he was joined by Pomponius Labeo with a legion from Moesia and by King Rhoemetalcēs with reinforcements composed of those of his own countrymen who had remained loyal, he united these forces to the troops already at his disposal and marched against the enemy, who had taken up a position in some wooded defiles.

A few of the more adventurous of the enemy who were observed on the open hills were driven off without much difficulty by the Roman general, who approached in battle formation; but owing to the facility with which they could take cover the losses of the natives were not heavy. Having encamped and entrenched himself on this spot, Sabinus proceeded to occupy with a strong detachment a mountain, with a narrow but even ridge, extending to the nearest fortress, which was guarded by a strong but undisciplined force. At the same time he sent a picked body of archers against some of the fiercest of the enemy who were singing their native war-songs and dancing their war-dances in front of the entrenchments. While the archers attacked at long range they did considerable damage without suffering at all: but when they got nearer, the enemy made a sudden rush and threw them into confusion. They were rescued, however, by a cohort of the Sugambri which the Roman general had posted not far off, and which, while ever ready to face any danger, with its war-cries and the clash of its weapons presented as terrifying a spectacle as the Thracians themselves.

XLVIII. The camp was then transferred to a position facing the enemy; the Thracians whom I have mentioned as serving with our army being left in the previous entrenchments, with permission to raid, burn, and pillage on condition that their marauding expeditions ceased before the end of the day and that they spent the nights in camp keeping careful guard. These instructions were at first observed; but in course of time becoming idle, luxurious, and enriched with booty, they neglected their posts, abandoned themselves to the pleasures of eating and drinking, and lay where they fell overcome by wine or sleep. The enemy, discovering their negligence, divided their forces into two divisions with one of which they proposed to attack the marauders, while the other assaulted the Roman camp, not in the hope of taking it, but in order that the shouts, the clash of weapons, and their own personal danger might prevent our men from hearing the sounds of the other action. In order to inspire additional terror they selected the darkness as the

time for their attack. The assault upon the camp of the legions was easily repulsed ; but the Thracian auxiliaries, some of whom were lying against the entrenchments, while others were wandering about outside, were thrown into a panic by the suddenness of the onslaught, and were massacred without mercy ; for they were regarded as deserters and traitors who were fighting for their own and their country's slavery.

XLIX. On the next day Sabinus deployed his army on the plain in the hope that the natives, encouraged by their success on the previous night, would venture to give him battle. When the enemy evinced no disposition to leave their post and the high ground adjoining it, he determined to invest their position by means of redoubts which he now began to throw up wherever he thought suitable : he then connected these works by a ditch and a breastwork until he had surrounded a space of four miles in circuit. Finally, with the object of depriving the enemy of water and forage, he gradually contracted his lines, narrowing the space in which the natives were confined, and constructed an earthwork from which rocks, spears, and torches could be hurled at short range. The enemy suffered principally from thirst, for the vast multitude of fighting men and non-combatants was now restricted to the use of one spring. Meanwhile the baggage-animals, which according to the native custom were shut in with them, were dying from want of fodder : near them lay the corpses of men who had perished from wounds or from thirst : and the whole place was tainted with corruption, with the noisome stench, and with the infection spread by the dead bodies. As a final calamity, dissension broke out among them ; one party proposing to surrender, the other that they should seek death at each other's hands : while a few urged that they should make a sortie against the foe instead of dying unavenged.

L. Dinis, one of their leaders, a man of great age, whose long experience had taught him the strength and the clemency of Rome, argued for laying down their arms as the only possible remedy in their distress ; and he with his wife and children was the first to capitulate to the victorious

Roman. His example was followed by those whose age or sex was a source of weakness and by those whose love of life was stronger than their love of glory. The younger and more vigorous wavered between Tarsa and Turesis, both of whom had resolved to perish with their liberty. Tarsa, shouting to his followers to seek instant death and to put an abrupt end to their hopes and to their fears alike, set them the example by plunging his sword into his heart ; and not a few gave up their lives in like manner. Turesis, on the other hand, with his own corps waited for nightfall. The Roman commander knowing of this, the pickets were strengthened. The night was dark and stormy ; and the wild cries of the enemy, alternating with moments of profound silence, bewildered the besieging forces : but Sabinus went round the lines, exhorting the men not to be misled either by the sounds or by their delusive cessation into giving the enemy the chance for which they were lying in wait, but to remain motionless at their posts, and not shoot at random.

LI. Meanwhile bands of natives, running down the slope, began hurling huge rocks, scorched stakes, and logs of wood against the palisade, or filling the trenches with faggots, hurdles, and dead bodies. Some who had provided themselves with planks and ladders set them against the breastworks, which they clutched and tore at, fighting hand to hand with the defenders. The Romans drove them back at the point of their spears, pushed them down with their bucklers, aimed long javelins at them, or rolled heaps of stones upon them. Both sides fought with extraordinary courage, for while the Romans were animated by the confidence inspired by the advantage which they had already gained and which would render a defeat in such circumstances particularly discreditable, the natives felt that this was their last chance, and the cries of their mothers and wives, who in most cases had followed them into the battle, made them desperate. The darkness of the night favoured deeds of daring ; it also provided a host of hidden terrors : blows were dealt at random, and wounds received out of the unseen. The impossibility of distinguishing friend from foe and the echoes of the mountain

side, which made the shouts seem to come from the rear, caused such general confusion that the Romans abandoned some of their entrenchments in the belief that they had been carried. Only a few of the enemy, however, broke through. The hardiest were slain or wounded, and at daybreak the rest were forced back to the summit of their fortress when they were at length compelled to surrender. The inhabitants of the nearest villages submitted voluntarily. The rigorous climate and the early winter of the Balkans prevented the remainder from being reduced by force or by siege.

LII. At Rome the imperial family was beset by a host of troubles ; and as a prelude to the series of attacks which was meant to end in the ruin of Agrippina, a prosecution was now instituted against her cousin, Claudia Pulchra. The prosecutor was Domitius Afer, who had just completed his term of office as praetor : a man of meagre reputation, but ready to commit any crime to acquire celebrity. He accused Claudia of loose living, of carrying on an intrigue with Furnius, and of employing sorcery and witchcraft with intent to do evil to the Emperor. Always passionate, and now roused to frenzy by her kinswoman's danger, Agrippina hurried to Tiberius, and happened to find him sacrificing to Augustus. This provided her with an opening of which she availed herself to reproach the Emperor, saying that "it was strangely inconsistent to sacrifice victims to the divinity of Augustus and at the same time to persecute his descendants : his divine spirit had not been transmitted to those inanimate effigies ; she was his true and living image, sprung from his heavenly blood, and she, knowing her peril, attired herself in the garb of a suppliant : vain pretext to attack Pulchra, whose ruin was caused solely by her no doubt foolish choice of Agrippina as her friend, in forgetfulness of the fate which had befallen Sosia, who had done likewise !" These words elicited from Tiberius an expression of feeling rarely allowed to escape those silent lips. He rebuked her sternly, quoting a Greek verse to the effect that she suffered no wrong in that she was not allowed to rule.

Pulchra and Furnius were condemned. Afer was now

ranked among the principal advocates of his day. This case established his reputation, which the Emperor enhanced by styling him a born orator. He now devoted himself to undertaking prosecutions or defences, and acquired greater celebrity for his eloquence than for integrity: but towards the end of his life his eloquence suffered from his inability to retire into silence when his mental faculties became impaired.

LIII. Agrippina was implacable. Falling ill, she was visited by the Emperor. For a long time she wept silently, but at last broke into reproaches and entreaties, begging him to take pity on her solitude and to give her a husband. She was still young, she said, and virtuous women of her age could only seek consolation in matrimony: there were men in the Empire who would feel honoured to receive into their house the widow and the children of Germanicus. The Emperor, realising the magnitude of the political issues involved in her request, but unwilling to betray his irritation or his fears, left her without giving a reply notwithstanding her importunity. This episode is not recorded in the annals of the period, but I have found it related in the memoirs in which Agrippina, her daughter and the mother of the Emperor Nero, has described her own life and the misfortunes of her family.²²

LIV. Sejanus now took advantage of Agrippina's despondency and imprudence to deal her a yet more fatal blow. He employed agents, affecting a friendly solicitude for her, to persuade her that there was a plot to poison her, and to warn her to avoid her father-in-law's entertainments. One day she sat next to the Emperor at table; and, unable to dissemble her feelings, she never uttered a word or relaxed a muscle of her face, and the food she left untouched. Tiberius noticing this, either by chance or because his attention was called to it, determined to put her to a more searching test. Recommending some fruit which had just been set upon the table, he passed it

²² How much of his information Tacitus owed to these "memoirs" is uncertain; but their influence may account in some part for the bias which he apparently displays in favour of Germanicus and Agrippina and against Tiberius.

to his daughter-in-law with his own hand. This increased Agrippina's suspicions, and she handed the fruit to the slaves without tasting it. Tiberius said not a word to her; but, turning to his mother, he remarked that it was hardly to be wondered at if he took severe measures against a woman who accused him of being a poisoner. This incident gave rise to a report that Agrippina's fate was sealed, but that the Emperor, not daring to proceed openly, was seeking some secret method of perpetrating this crime.

LV. In order to dispel such rumours the Emperor constantly attended the meetings of the Senate. He spent several days in hearing the deputies from the province of Asia upon the question of selecting the city in which the temple, to be dedicated to himself and the Senate, should be built. Eleven towns, with uniform eagerness but dissimilar pretensions, disputed the privilege. The grounds on which each claimed precedence were, however, more or less identical, inasmuch as they all relied upon the antiquity of their race and their services to the Roman people during the wars with Perseus, Aristonicus, and other kings. Hypaepa, Tralles, Laodicea, and Magnesia were passed over as being inferior in resources. Ilium, though claiming that Troy was the mother of Rome, had no title beyond its glorious antiquity. There was a momentary hesitation in favour of Halicarnassus, which alleged that for two hundred years its houses had never been moved by the shock of an earthquake, and that the foundations of the temple would be laid in a bed of rock. Pergamum relied upon the fact that the temple to Augustus was situated there: but it was thought that, having this temple, Pergamum had already got as much as it deserved. The worship of Diana and Apollo appeared to require the whole attention of Ephesus and Miletus respectively. The issue therefore, was reduced to a consideration of the rival claims of Sardis and Smyrna.

The Sardians recited an Etrurian decree purporting to show that they were related to the Etruscans. It appeared that Tyrrhenus and Lydus, sons of King Atys, had divided the old nation between them because of its numerous population: that Lydus had remained in the country of

his forefathers, but that it was ordained that Tyrrhenus should found a new settlement : that these two chiefs gave their names to the two divisions of the race, the one to the Asiatic, the other to the Italian portion : and that, the power of the Lydians growing still greater, they had sent colonists to that part of Greece, which afterwards owed its name to Pelops. At the same time they supported this claim by references to despatches of Roman generals, to the treaties concluded with us during the Macedonian war, and to the wealth of their rivers, the amenities of their climate, and the fertility of the land surrounding their city.

LVI. The deputies from Smyrna, after recounting their great antiquity (their founder being either Tantalus, the son of Jupiter, or Theseus who was also of divine origin, or one of the Amazons), passed to the claims on which they principally relied, namely, their services to the Roman people. They stated that they had furnished ships not only for the foreign wars, but also for the wars which were waged in Italy ; and that they were the first to dedicate a temple to the city of Rome, having done so in the consulship of M. Porcius, when Rome, though already great, had not yet attained the summit of her power, inasmuch as the city of Carthage was still standing and the kings of Asia were still powerful. At the same time they adduced the testimony of L. Sulla to prove that when news was brought to the popular assembly at Smyrna that Sulla's army was in dire distress owing to the severity of the winter and the lack of clothing, every man present had stripped the garment from his back and sent it to our legions. Accordingly, on a vote being taken, preference was accorded to Smyrna. Vibius Marsus, moreover, proposed that Manius Lepidus, the governor of the province, should have a supernumerary legate to supervise the construction of the temple : and, Lepidus modestly refusing to make the selection himself, Valerius Naso, an ex-praetor, was chosen by lot and sent out to assist him.

LVII. About this date the long meditated and frequently postponed departure of the Emperor to Campania took place. The ostensible pretext for his journey was the dedication of a temple to Jupiter at Capua and of a temple to

Augustus at Nola; but he went with the firm intention of living henceforth away from Rome. In assigning the reason for his retirement to the devices of Sejanus, I have followed the majority of the authorities: but inasmuch as he continued to live in similar retirement for six years after the death of Sejanus, I am often inclined to question whether the truer explanation should not be found in his own character and in his desire to conceal the scene, while securing the free indulgence, of his cruelties and his lusts. Some believed that he was also ashamed of his personal appearance in his old age; for his tall form became withered and bent, his head was bald, and his face was ulcerous and generally covered with patches of plaster. Again, his previous retirement at Rhodes had accustomed him to shun society, and to hide his secret debaucheries. Finally it is said that he was driven out of Rome by his mother's ungovernable temper, for it hurt his pride to accept her as the partner of his power, yet he could not rid himself of her since he owed his power to her gift. For Augustus had meditated giving the Empire into the hands of Germanicus, his sister's grandson and the object of universal esteem; but he had yielded to the entreaties of his wife, and made Tiberius adopt Germanicus, while he himself adopted Tiberius as his son. Augusta now taunted Tiberius with this, and demanded that her services should be required.

LVIII. The Emperor was accompanied on his journey by only a small suite, consisting of one senator and ex-consul, Cocceius Nerva, who had profound knowledge of law; besides Sejanus, only one Roman knight of the highest class, namely, Curtius Atticus; and some men of letters, mostly Greeks, whose conversation was likely to interest him.

Those learned in heavenly signs declared that Tiberius had left Rome under a conjunction of planets which precluded the possibility of his return; a prediction which proved fatal to many who were rash enough to conjecture that his end was at hand, and to spread a report to that effect: for they could not foresee such an incredible contingency as that he would of his own free will absent himself for eleven years from his native land. The future

demonstrated what a narrow borderland there is between accuracy and error in the science of astrology, and how truth may be veiled in mystery. For the statement that he would not return to Rome was not a mere guess : on the other hand the prophets were in all else entirely at fault, inasmuch as he lived to an advanced age in the country or on the coast near Rome, and often within sight of the city walls.

LIX. About this date an accident, in which the Emperor's life was in danger, lent additional support to these idle rumours, and at the same time gave him good reason to place more confidence than ever in the friendship and fidelity of Sejanus. They were dining in a natural grotto upon a country estate called "The Cave," situated between the gulf of Amyclae and the hills of Fundi, when the mouth of the grotto suddenly fell in and the falling rocks crushed some of the slaves. A panic ensued and the guests fled for their lives. Sejanus, leaning on one knee, with his face and hands over the Emperor, placed his own body between him and the falling stones, and the soldiers who came to the rescue discovered him in that attitude.

This episode naturally increased the influence which Sejanus had over Tiberius, and, however sinister his counsels, they were received with a confidence in his integrity which his apparently disinterested disposition seemed to justify. Towards the children of Germanicus he affected a judicial impartiality, while he suborned persons to act as their prosecutors and to attack with especial virulence Nero, the heir to the throne. This young man, in spite of the modest demeanour befitting his years, was deficient in the tact required by his circumstances, and his freedmen and dependants, impatient and eager for power, incited him to display his confidence and courage. The Roman people, they told him, wished it, the armies desired it, and Sejanus would never dare to offer any opposition, notwithstanding the insolent advantage which he was now taking of an old man's patience and a young man's apathy.

LX. Though listening to such suggestions, Nero could not be accused of harbouring any seditious designs, but

occasionally he allowed various rash and defiant expressions to escape him ; and the spies who were set to watch him took note of these expressions and reported them in an exaggerated form to their employer. Nero was given no opportunity to rebut these charges ; and a variety of other alarming indications confronted him. One man would avoid meeting him : some would salute him and then instantly turn away : many would enter into conversation with him and suddenly break off, while the creatures of Sejanus stood by and jeered at him. Tiberius habitually received him with a scowl or a false smile. Whether he spoke or held his peace, his words and his silence alike were construed as a crime. Even at night his cares did not cease ; his vigils, his slumbers, his sighs were reported by his wife to Livia and by her to Sejanus. Even his brother Drusus was induced to join the conspiracy against him, for Sejanus tempted Drusus with the prospect of succeeding to the throne, if his elder brother, who was already on the verge of ruin, were put out of his way. In addition to his greed for power and his habitual dislike for his brother, the passionate temper of Drusus was inflamed by the jealousy created by Agrippina's preference for Nero. But while thus courting the assistance of Drusus, Sejanus was preparing the way for his ruin also, and he knew that his ungovernable temper would render him an easy prey.

LXI. At the end of the year two distinguished men died : Asinius Agrippa, who by his life proved himself no unworthy scion of a family that was more illustrious than ancient ; and Q. Haterius, a member of a senatorial family, and celebrated, in his lifetime, for his eloquence. The remains of his genius, however, are not so highly esteemed : the reason being that his style was more vigorous than polished ; and while the works of other men have achieved undying fame by reason of the thought and labour bestowed on them, the musical fluency for which Haterius was distinguished died with him.

LXII. In the consulship of M. Licinius and L. Calpurnius a terrible accident occurred, the consequences of which were as disastrous as those of many a great war, though

it ended at the moment it began. A certain Atilius, of the freedman class, purposing to give a gladiatorial exhibition, built an amphitheatre at Fidena, A.D. 27. but neglected to lay the foundations in firm ground or to make the superstructure with beams of sufficient thickness; for he had undertaken the enterprise not because he was affluent or because he wished to acquire popularity, but merely from motives of sordid gain. Crowds of people who loved such sights and who had been debarred from similar entertainments since the reign of Tiberius began, men and women, old and young, flocked to Fidena, the proximity of the place to Rome attracting an enormous multitude. Hence the appalling catastrophe which ensued. The large building was crowded with people. Suddenly a shock was felt, portions of the structure fell in, while other portions burst outwards, and the immense throng, gazing intently at the show or standing round, was precipitated to the ground and buried beneath the ruins. Those who were instantly crushed to death were, in these dreadful circumstances, fortunate, for they at least escaped torture. The most to be pitied were those who though maimed and mutilated remained alive, and who were condemned to see their wives and children while it was still day and to listen to their cries and groans when night came on. Relatives of the victims who had hastened to the scene at the first news of the accident were now bewailing the loss of brothers, relatives, or parents. Even those whose friends or relations were away from home for some other cause feared for their safety; and as it was not yet known who had suffered in the disaster, the uncertainty intensified the alarm.

LXIII. When the removal of the débris commenced, there was a rush to the lifeless bodies, which were kissed and embraced, and often disputed over when, in spite of a resemblance in form or age, the distorted features rendered it difficult to identify the dead. Fifty thousand persons were maimed or crushed to death by this disaster. The Senate passed a decree providing that for the future no person should give a gladiatorial show who was possessed of less than 400,000 sesterces, and that no amphitheatre

should be built except on a foundation of which the solidity had been examined and ascertained. Atilius was sent into exile. In the period immediately succeeding this catastrophe, the houses of the nobles were thrown open, medical appliances and the services of physicians were offered freely, and Rome in those days presented an appearance which, however mournful, recalled the customs of our ancestors who after a great battle used to relieve and succour the wounded.

LXIV. The memory of this disaster was still fresh when Rome was afflicted by a conflagration of extraordinary magnitude and extent, the Mons Caelius being burnt to ashes. People spoke of it as a year of calamity, and, adopting the vulgar error of attributing the frowns of fortune to the culpability of individuals, averred that the Emperor formed the project of absenting himself from Rome under evil auspices. Tiberius, however, silenced these allegations by distributing money to the sufferers in proportion to the losses they had sustained. The great men who composed the Senate accorded him a vote of thanks, and the populace gratefully recognised the munificent manner in which, without partiality and uninfluenced by the solicitations of their relatives, he had relieved persons who were quite unknown to him and whom he had actually to seek out for himself. Proposals were also made that in future the Mons Caelius should be called the Mons Augustus, since in the universal conflagration the effigy of Tiberius, placed in the house of the Senator Junius, had alone remained undamaged. The same thing, it was observed, had happened to Claudia Quinta; and her statue, which had twice escaped the fury of the flames, had been dedicated by our ancestors in the temple of the Mother of the Gods: the Claudii were evidently sacred and acceptable in the sight of Heaven, and additional sanctity should be bestowed upon the place in which the gods so honoured the Emperor.

LXV. It may be interesting to recall the fact that the Mons Caelius was originally named the Oak Mountain on account of the great number of oak trees which flourished upon it, and that it received the appellation of Caelius from

Caeles Vibenna, an Etruscan chief who fought on the side of Rome and received a grant of the land on this site from Tarquinius Priscus or some other king, for historians differ on this point : there is no doubt, however, that the strangers were a numerous body and that their habitations extended down to the base of the hill and to the neighbourhood of the Forum, and that the Tuscan quarter was so called in consequence of this settlement.

LXVI. But if the generosity of the nobles and the munificence of the Emperor went far to relieve the distress occasioned by these two calamities, prosecutions multiplied and grew more intolerable and more relentless every day. Domitius Afer, having secured the conviction of Claudia Pulchra, now attacked her son Quintilius Varus, a rich man and a relation of the Emperor. Nobody was surprised that, after years of poverty and after squandering the fortune he had acquired by his recent success, Domitius should be arming himself for a fresh campaign of iniquity. Some astonishment was caused by the appearance of Publius Dolabella as Afer's associate in these proceedings, for being both a man of illustrious descent and a connection of Varus he was thereby degrading his own nobility and attempting to ruin one of his own kinsmen. The Senate, however, stopped the case and resolved that it should be reserved for the Emperor—the sole, though merely a temporary, remedy for the pressing evils of the moment.

LXVII. After dedicating the two temples in Campania, the Emperor issued an edict forbidding any person to disturb his repose, and troops were posted to prevent any assemblage of the inhabitants. But he conceived such a dislike for the provincial towns, and indeed for every place on the mainland, that, these measures failing to satisfy him, he betook himself to the island of Capreae, which is separated from the promontory of Surrentum by a strait three miles in width. I imagine that the isolation afforded by this island was its chief attraction, for, with the sea all around, it possessed no harbour and little shelter even for small vessels ; moreover, it was impossible to land there without the Emperor's guards being aware of it. Its climate is mild in the winter because a mountain shelters it from

the cold winds, and it is exceedingly pleasant in summer owing to its western aspect and the wide expanse of sea by which it is surrounded. Finally, the view of the bay opposite was extremely beautiful until the eruption of Vesuvius²³ altered the configuration of the land. According to tradition the mainland was formerly occupied by the Greeks and Capreae inhabited by the Teleboans. But at this time the whole island was covered with twelve large country houses with separate names; and here Tiberius, once so engrossed in cares of State, now abandoned himself with the same zest to secret debauchery and pernicious idleness.

Tiberius, indeed, was still haunted by the wanton suspicions which Sejanus used to foster even before they left Rome, and which he now encouraged with more virulence than ever, no longer making any secret of the plots which he had formed against Agrippina and Nero. Soldiers were instructed to shadow them and to chronicle their messages, their visits, and all their public or private proceedings. Agents were actually suborned to counsel them to flee to the armies of Germany, or to embrace the statue of Augustus at a time when the Forum was crowded and to implore the protection of the Senate and the people of Rome: and though they rejected such advice with indignation they were nevertheless accused of actually meditating such proceedings.

LXVIII. The year of the consulship of Junius Silanus and Silius Nerva was initiated by an atrocious crime; Titius Sabinus, a Roman knight of the first A.D. 28. rank, being dragged off to the common prison as a punishment for his friendship with Germanicus. He had persisted in treating the wife and children of his dead friend with the utmost respect, visiting them at their house, and showing them attention in public. Of all the numerous supporters of the house of Germanicus he alone remained, and his fidelity, though winning the respect of all good men, subjected him to the persecution of those by whom he was

²³ The great eruption of A.D. 79, in which Herculaneum and Pompeii were destroyed.

unjustly hated. Latinius Latiaris, Porcius Cato, Petitus Rufus, and M. Opsius, combined to attack him. These four men were all ex-prætors who wanted the consulship, to which there was no prospect of attainment except through the agency of Sejanus; and the favour of Sejanus was not to be bought except by crime. They agreed among themselves that Latiaris, who had a slight acquaintance with Sabinus, should set the trap, that the others should be witnesses, and that when their victim was firmly secured they should institute proceedings against him. In accordance with this plan Latiaris began by engaging Sabinus in casual conversation, and then proceeded to eulogise his loyalty in refusing to follow the example of others by deserting, in the hour of its affliction, a house of which he had been the friend in the days of its prosperity. At the same time he spoke in complimentary terms of Germanicus and compassionated Agrippina. Men in misfortune are easily moved and Sabinus burst into tears. Whereupon Latiaris also broke into loud complaints and boldly attacked Sejanus, inveighing against his cruelty, his arrogance, and his ambition. Even Tiberius did not escape his vituperation. The treasonable nature of this conversation formed a bond of apparent friendship between them: and henceforth Sabinus sought out Latiaris of his own accord, frequently visited him at his house, and confided all his sorrows to him as though he were his most faithful friend.

LXIX. The four men whom I have named now proceeded to consider some means by which more than one witness might overhear the conversation of Sabinus. It was necessary to preserve the apparent privacy of the place of meeting; and if they stood behind the door, there was a risk of their being seen or of their presence being revealed by some noise or owing to some casual suspicion on the part of Sabinus. The three senators found an ignoble hiding-place which well matched the detestable conspiracy in which they were engaged: they concealed themselves in the space between the ceiling and the roof, and applied their ears to the holes and the chinks. Meanwhile Latiaris had found Sabinus in the street, and professing to have some

fresh news to give him, brought him to his house and took him into his bedchamber. Present and past grievances provided him with an abundance of topics, to which he added the prospect of new terrors. Sabinus replied in the same strain, but at greater length; for when a man once gives vent to his sorrows, he is not soon silenced. Information was at once laid against Sabinus, and the conspirators wrote to the Emperor describing the details of their plot and their own infamous proceedings. Rome was reduced to a state of panic and trepidation never exceeded upon any other occasion. Men were on their guard against their nearest and dearest: social gatherings and opportunities for friendly intercourse were shunned: confidences were no longer imparted to the ears of either acquaintances or strangers: even mute and inanimate objects were regarded with suspicion, and roofs and walls were examined with distrust.

LXX. On the first of January the Senate received a letter from the Emperor, in which, after the usual prayer for the New Year, he proceeded to refer to Sabinus, whom he charged with having corrupted certain of his freedmen and with having sought his life. He demanded vengeance in no equivocal terms: and a decree condemning Sabinus was passed without hesitation. The doomed man was dragged off to execution, and though his robe was drawn over his head and his throat was tightly bound with cords, he mustered all his forces and cried aloud that "such was the inauguration of the year, and here were the victims that were being sacrificed to Sejanus!" Wherever his gaze fell, wherever his voice reached, the people fled, leaving him in solitude; and the streets and public places were deserted. Some even retraced their steps and showed themselves again, frightened by the very fact that they had betrayed their fear. "What day," men asked, "would pass without an execution, if, in the midst of sacrifices and prayers, at a time when it was customary to refrain even from profane words, the prison chains and the fatal noose claimed their victims! It was not without purpose that Tiberius had braved the odium attendant upon such proceedings: on the contrary, he had acted with the deliberate intention of de-

monstrating to the people that there was no reason why the magistrates when entering upon their office should not open the dungeons as well as the doors of the temples and the shrines."

The execution was followed by a letter from the Emperor to the Senate, thanking them for having punished an enemy of the State. He added that his life was fraught with alarms, and that he dreaded the plots of others of his enemies. He mentioned no names; but no doubt was felt that he was alluding to Nero and Agrippina.

LXXI. Were it not my plan to follow the chronological sequence of events, I should be strongly inclined to anticipate and to place on record at once the fate which subsequently befell Latinus and Opius and the other authors of this iniquitous conspiracy, not only after C. Caesar had come to the throne, but even in the lifetime of Tiberius. For though Tiberius would not have the instruments of his crimes ruined by others, yet when he grew weary of them and when fresh men offered to perform similar services for him, his old agents became repulsive to him and he ruthlessly threw them over. But I will relate the punishment which overtook these and other guilty persons at the proper time.

Asinius Gallus, who was related to Agrippina (she being his children's aunt on the mother's side), now proposed that the Emperor should be petitioned to disclose the reasons for his alarm and to allow the Senate to remove them. Of all his virtues—or what he considered to be such—the most highly prized by Tiberius was his art of dissimulation. He was therefore exceedingly vexed by this attempt to lay bare that which he was endeavouring to conceal. Sejanus, however, contrived to mollify him, not out of any regard for Asinius, but simply for the purpose of allowing the Emperor's vengeance time to ripen; for he knew that Tiberius was slow in making up his mind, but that, once his smouldering wrath burst into a blaze, his menacing words would be combined with terrible deeds.

About the same date Julia, the granddaughter of Augustus, died. Convicted on a charge of adultery, she had been banished by her grandfather to the island of

Trimerus, not far from the coast of Apulia. There she had lived in exile for twenty years, supported by the generosity of Augusta, who, having secretly contrived the ruin of her second husband's grandchildren in the heyday of their youth and prosperity, openly evinced her compassion towards them in the days of their affliction.

LXXII. In the same year the Frisii, a tribe beyond the Rhine, renounced their allegiance, not because they fretted under their subjection to the Roman rule, but owing principally to the rapacity of the Roman officials. In consideration of their poverty, Drusus²⁴ had imposed on them only a moderate tribute, consisting of a certain quantity of ox hides for military purposes; and no express stipulation was made with regard to their size or thickness, until Olennius, a first-rank centurion who had been appointed governor of the Frisii, selected some wild bulls' hides to serve as a model for those which would be accepted by the Romans. This standard would have been severe for other nations. For the Germans it was almost intolerable, for though the wild animals which infest their forests are of a large size, their domestic animals are small. At first they gave up their cattle, then their lands, and finally their wives and children as slaves. When, notwithstanding their bitter complaints, they found that no relief was forthcoming, they sought a remedy for their grievances in war. The soldiers who were engaged in levying the tribute were seized and crucified. Olennius fled from the angry tribesmen and found refuge in a fortress named Flevum, where a considerable force of Romans and allies formed the coast garrison.

LXXIII. When L. Apronius, propraetor of Lower Germany, received news of the rising, he summoned from the Upper Province the reserve of the legions and a picked force of cavalry and infantry of the auxiliaries. He at once took this army, together with his own division, down the Rhine, and marched them against the rebellious Frisii, who by this time had raised the siege of the fortress and retired to cover their own territory. He constructed causeways and bridges over the nearest estuaries for the

²⁴ The brother of Tiberius.

passage of his heavier troops; and meanwhile, having discovered a ford, he instructed a squadron of cavalry, composed of Canninefates and the German infantry in our pay, to work round and take the enemy in the rear. The Frisii, already drawn up in order of battle, repulsed the auxiliary squadron and the legionary cavalry who were sent to support them. Three light cohorts, then two more, and finally, some time after, all the auxiliary cavalry were ordered up. These troops would doubtless have been strong enough for the purpose had they attacked simultaneously; but coming up as they did at intervals, they failed to rally their disordered comrades and were themselves carried away by the panic and the flight of their fellows. Cethegus Labeo, the legate of the fifth legion, was then put at the head of all the remaining auxiliaries; but seeing that his men were wavering, and realising the critical position in which he was placed, he sent a message to Apronius begging for the support of the legions. The men of the fifth, outstripping the rest, charged to the front, and after a fierce fight repulsed the enemy and rescued the cohorts and the cavalry, now exhausted by their wounds. The Roman general, however, was unable to attempt reprisals or even to bury his dead, although a large number of tribunes, prefects, and senior centurions had fallen. Shortly afterwards it was ascertained from some deserters that 900 Romans had been cut to pieces in a wood, called the Grove of Baduhenna, after having fought all night long, and that another body of 400 men which had occupied a house belonging to Cruptorix, a German who had served in the Roman army, fearing to be betrayed by treachery, had put one another to death.

LXXIV. Henceforth the Frisii enjoyed a great reputation among the Germans. Tiberius concealed the Roman losses, not caring to entrust the conduct of the war to any of his generals: and the Senate was comparatively indifferent to any dishonour to the Roman arms incurred in remote quarters of the Empire, their entire attention being preoccupied by apprehensions for their own safety, which they sought to secure by sycophancy and adulation. Accordingly, though they had met to deliberate on matters

of a totally different character, they now voted an altar to Clemency and an altar to Friendship²⁵ to be surrounded by busts of Tiberius and Sejanus : and they implored them, with many and repeated importunities, to deign to reappear in public.

The Emperor and his minister, however, would not come to Rome or its vicinity : they contented themselves with leaving the island and appearing at the nearest point in Campania. Here came the senators, the knights, and a great number of the people, all eager to pay court to Sejanus, access to whom was now more difficult than ever, and only obtainable by intrigue or by sharing in his evil designs. According to almost universal opinion, this flagrant and undisguised exhibition of servility redoubled the arrogance of Sejanus. For in Rome bustling crowds are a familiar sight, and the city is so vast that to discern the business upon which each person is bent is an impossibility : but here the crowds assembled on the open plain or on the shore, all herded together without distinction, and passed their nights and days alike, dependent upon the favours or subject to the insolence of the great man's doorkeepers. At length they were forbidden to wait any longer, and they returned to Rome ; those whom he had not condescended to gratify with a word or a look, in fear and trepidation ; others, already menaced by the dire consequences of the favour which they had, unhappily for themselves, obtained, rejoicing in their supposed good fortune.

LXXV. Tiberius, having personally betrothed the younger Agrippina, the daughter of Germanicus, to Cn. Domitius, now gave orders for the celebration of their nuptials in Rome. In choosing Domitius as the husband of his granddaughter, the Emperor had selected a man who, in addition to the antiquity of his descent, was also related to the family of the Caesars, for he had the honour of claiming Octavia as his grandmother, and therefore Augustus was his great-uncle.

²⁵ See note on Book I. ch. 14.

BOOK V

A.D. 29-31

I. IN the consulship of Rubellius and Fufius, both surnamed Geminus, Julia Augusta died at an advanced age. A member of the family of the Claudii A.D. 29. by birth, and of the families of the Livii and the Julii by adoption, she was connected by descent with the noblest houses of Rome. Her first husband, and the father of her children, was Tiberius Nero, who fled from Italy during the Perusian war, but returned to Rome when peace was made between Sextus Pompeius and the Triumvirate. Augustus, being enamoured of her beauty, took her from her husband (whether against her will or not is uncertain), and married her in hot haste, without even waiting for the birth of her former husband's child. She had no children by her second marriage, but the union of Agrippina and Germanicus united her blood to that of Augustus by giving them great-grandchildren in common. Though conforming to the strict code of ancient morality, she was less reserved than was expected of the women of old. She was an imperious mother and a complaisant wife; and her character fitted in admirably with the clever intrigues of her husband and the dissimulation of her son. Her funeral was a modest ceremony: the provisions of her will long remained unfulfilled. A panegyric on her from the Rostra was delivered by C. Caesar, her great-grandson, who subsequently became Emperor.

II. Tiberius wrote to the Senate excusing his omission to pay the last respects to his mother's body on the ground of the pressure of public business; but he made no change in his life of pleasure. In a spirit of assumed moderation

he curtailed the profuse compliments which the Senate had voted to her memory, accepting only a very few, and enjoining them to refrain from decreeing her apotheosis, for such he declared was her own express desire. Moreover, in the course of his letter he attacked the habit of forming friendships with women—an indirect censure upon Fufius the consul, who owed his good fortune to the favour of Augusta. For Fufius possessed the quality of attracting women, and being something of a wit was in the habit of making Tiberius the victim of those caustic pleasantries, the memory of which rankles long in the minds of the great.

III. From this moment the government of Tiberius became a sheer, oppressive despotism. While Augusta lived, one avenue of escape still remained open, for the Emperor was habitually deferential towards his mother, and Sejanus dared not thwart her parental authority; but when this curb was removed, there was nothing to check their furious career. They sent to the Senate a letter, attacking Agrippina and Nero, which was commonly believed to have been despatched some time before, but to have been intercepted by Augusta, for it was read very shortly after her death. The venomous tone of the letter was carefully calculated for effect. Tiberius charged his grandson, not with armed revolt, but with indulging in unnatural passions. Not daring to calumniate the morals of his daughter-in-law, he attacked her arrogant demeanour and rebellious spirit. The Senate listened in fear and silence, until a few of those who saw no prospect of ever succeeding by honourable means, but who realised that public misfortunes may be utilised by unscrupulous individuals as stepping-stones on which they may rise to favour, demanded that the matter should be formally brought before the Chamber: the most insistent of them all being Cotta Messalinus, who was already prepared with a merciless proposal. But the rest of the principal senators, and especially the official members, hesitated; for, notwithstanding the acrimony of his invective, the intentions of Tiberius were doubtful.

IV. There was a certain member named Junius Rusticus,

who had been appointed by Tiberius to keep the record of the proceedings of the Senate, and who was therefore supposed to be able to read the Emperor's thoughts. This man, moved by some uncontrollable impulse (for he had not hitherto given any proof of fortitude), or possibly by a short-sighted craftiness which, while blinding him to the danger which was imminent, made him tremble in apprehension of the uncertain future, ranged himself on the side of the waverers and warned the consuls not to put the question, declaring that, however weighty the issues involved might be, the slightest trifle might turn the scale, and the time might come when the aged Emperor would repent of the destruction of the house of Germanicus. Meanwhile the populace carrying busts of Agrippina and Nero surrounded the Senate House, and, to show that they bore nothing but goodwill towards Tiberius, kept shouting that the letter was a forgery, and that it was against the wishes of the Emperor that his house was menaced with destruction. And so that day passed without any dire result. Fictitious denunciations of Sejanus, attributed to various senators of consular rank, were actually in circulation, the real authors of which profited by their anonymity to exercise their ingenuity with an utter absence of restraint. The anger of the minister knew no bounds, and he was now provided with material for his accusations. "The Senate," he declared, "had scoffed at the sorrows of the Emperor: the people were in revolt: rebellious decrees of the former, rebellious harangues of the latter, were already to be heard and to be read: how could they go any further except to seize their swords and choose for their chiefs and their leaders those whose busts served as the standards which they followed?"

V. The Emperor accordingly renewed his invectives against his grandson and his daughter-in-law. He issued an edict severely censuring the populace, and complained to the Senate that they had suffered his imperial majesty to be publicly mocked by the fraudulent representations of one of their number. He demanded, however, that the whole question should be reserved for his decision. There was no further hesitation. The Senate, though forbidden

to vote for the infliction of the extreme penalties of the law, avowed that they were ready to avenge the Emperor, and that they had only been restrained by his paramount authority.

[At this point there is a gap in the manuscript. The portion which has been lost covered the remainder of A.D. 29, the whole of A.D. 30, and the greater part of A.D. 31; and the principal events recorded were the conspiracy and fall of Sejanus.]

VI. . . . Forty-four speeches were delivered on this subject,¹ a few of which were prompted by A.D. 31. fear, but the greater number by the mere habit of flattery.

“I have come to the conclusion that such conduct would bring shame upon myself and hatred for the memory of Sejanus. The wheel of fortune has turned, and he who had chosen Sejanus as his colleague and his son-in-law has forgiven himself for the error which he committed; but the rest continue to persecute with criminal persistency the man whom they once courted with abject humility. Is it more pitiful to be accused for friendship’s sake or to accuse your friend? I will not decide that question. I will not wait to prove either the cruelty or the clemency of any man. Of my own free will, and with the approval of my own conscience, I will prevent the peril which is approaching me. I conjure you, remember me not with sorrow but with joy, counting me among the number of those who have found a refuge from public calamity in an honourable death.”

VII. A portion of the remainder of the day he passed in conversation with various friends, keeping them by him if they had the mind to stay and talk with him, or letting them depart if they preferred to go. A great number still lingered, unable to persuade themselves, as they gazed

¹ A debate in the Senate on some subject connected with the conspiracy of Sejanus, perhaps the punishment of Livia. After this sentence there is another gap, and then we come to a speech delivered, no doubt, by a friend of Sejanus, probably in private.

upon his intrepid countenance, that his end was so near, when suddenly he threw himself upon the sword which he had kept concealed beneath his robe. The Emperor spared his memory : not a charge, not an imputation did he breathe against him, whereas he had brought many hideous accusations against Blaesus.

VIII. The next case which demanded consideration was that of P. Vitellius and Pomponius Secundus. The former was accused of having offered to unlock the Treasury, of which he was prefect, and to hand over the war fund for the purposes of the conspiracy : the latter was charged by the ex-praetor Considius with having befriended Aelius Gallus, who after the execution of Sejanus had, according to the prosecutor, fled to the gardens of Pomponius, knowing that there he would find his surest refuge. The threatened men were supported only by the devotion of their brothers, who offered themselves as their securities. After frequent adjournments Vitellius found the suspense intolerable, and, pretending that he wished to write, asked for a penknife, made a slight incision in his veins, and died broken-hearted. Pomponius, a man of very refined character and remarkable intellectual powers, comported himself with calmness and fortitude in his misfortune, and survived Tiberius.

IX. Though the people's anger was now fading, and though the bulk of the populace had been appeased by the punishments which had already been exacted, it was now determined that proceedings should be taken against the two remaining children of Sejanus, who were accordingly carried off to prison. The son fully comprehended the fate in store for them, but the daughter was absolutely ignorant ; she kept asking what she had done, and where was she being taken, at the same time promising that "she would never do it again," and telling the gaolers that they might whip her like a naughty child. According to the reports of contemporary writers, as there was no precedent for the application of capital punishment to a virgin, she was violated by the executioner before he tied the noose : the two children were then strangled and their little bodies thrown on to the Gemonian Steps.

X. About the same time Asia and Achaea were alarmed by a startling rumour, which was, however, speedily dispelled, that Drusus, the son of Germanicus, had been seen in the Cyclades Islands and subsequently on the mainland. As a matter of fact, a young man about the same age had appeared and some of the Emperor's freedmen pretended to recognise him. While the latter attached themselves to his person to serve their own treacherous ends, other persons in pure ignorance and good faith were attracted by the glamour of his assumed name and by that passion for the novel and the marvellous which is inherent in the Greek character. The report which they invented—and which they persuaded themselves to believe—was that Drusus, having escaped from prison, was going to join his father's old armies and to invade Egypt and Syria. Crowds of the younger men had already gathered round the pretender, public support was being freely tendered to him, and he was congratulating himself upon his temporary success and his absurd expectations, when the news came to the ears of Poppaeus Sabinus. Sabinus was at the time occupied in Macedonia, but Achaea was also within his jurisdiction.² Uncertain as yet whether the pretender's claims were genuine or fictitious, but determined in either case to anticipate the possible consequences, he rapidly passed the gulfs of Torone and Thermae, travelled through Euboea, an island in the Aegean Sea, and the Piraeus on the coast of Attica, skirted the shores of Corinth, crossed the Isthmus, embarked once more on the sea on the other side, and finally reached the Roman colony of Nicopolis, where he learnt that the impostor, embarrassed by the more searching interrogations to which he had afterwards been subjected, had given out that he was the son of M. Silanus, and then, finding himself deserted by most of his followers, had embarked on board ship, apparently with the intention of sailing for Italy. So much Sabinus wrote to Tiberius, but I have been unable to discover any other evidence which throws any further light upon the origin or the termination of this episode.

XI. At the end of the year the ever-growing dissensions

² See Book I. ch. 80.

between the two consuls broke into open hostility. Trio, who had an aptitude for making enemies and possessed considerable forensic skill, had insinuated that Regulus had displayed a lack of energy in crushing the accomplices of Sejanus. Regulus, who, unless he was provoked, was habitually self-controlled, not only repulsed his colleague's accusation, but even sought to prosecute him on the charge of being privy to the conspiracy; and notwithstanding the earnest solicitations of numbers of the senators who begged them to lay aside a quarrel which could only end in their ruin, they persisted in their attitude of threatening hostility until their term of office expired.

BOOK VI

A.D. 32-37

I. AT the commencement of the consulship of Cn. Domitius and Camillus Scribonianus, the Emperor had crossed the strait which separates Capreae from Surrentum, and was coasting along the shores of Campania, seemingly undecided whether he would visit Rome, or perhaps having made up his mind not to do so, and for that very reason allowing it to be supposed that his arrival was imminent. Several times he came as far as the suburbs; but after visiting his gardens near the Tiber, he returned again to his rocks and the solitude of his island home, haunted by a feeling of shame for the crimes and debaucheries to which he had now abandoned himself so utterly, and which had so inflamed his evil desires that, following the example of foreign potentates, he indulged an unnatural passion for children of free birth. His lust was excited not merely by grace and beauty of form, but also by a longing to outrage in some cases the modesty of childhood, and in others the living images of the ancestors of his victims. It was now that the hitherto unknown expressions “sellarii” and “spintriae” were first invented, terms derived from the abominable vices and innumerable obscenities practised. Slaves were specially commissioned to seek for the instruments of his pleasure and drag them before him. They rewarded the willing and threatened the reluctant; and if a relative or parent resisted them, force, kidnapping, and all the arbitrary measures which a conqueror might use towards his captives, were freely employed.

II. In Rome at the beginning of this year severe sen-

tences were proposed affecting even the images and the memory of Livia, just as though her crimes, instead of having been long since expiated, had only recently been discovered; and it was further suggested that the estate of Sejanus should be taken from the Public Treasury and transferred to the Imperial Exchequer, as if there were any practical difference between the two. Men such as Scipio, Silanus, and Cassius were the authors of these proposals, and they supported them with great earnestness in the same or almost identical terms; but when Togonius Gallus suddenly essayed to push his own obscurity into the company of these great names, he only succeeded in covering himself with ridicule. He begged the Emperor to choose some senators, from whom twenty were to be selected by lot and armed with swords to protect his person whenever he entered the Chamber. It is to be presumed that Togonius credited the sincerity of the Emperor's letter in which he asked for the escort of one of the consuls in order that he might journey safely from Capreae to Rome. Tiberius, however, was accustomed to import an element of gravity into the most farcical situation. He therefore thanked the Senate for their kind intentions, but, he objected, "whom could he choose, and whom reject? Was he always to choose the same members, or were those first selected to be subsequently superseded by others? Was his selection to be made from those who had served their time as officers of State or from the junior men, from private members or from officials? What an extraordinary spectacle would be presented by the senators drawing their swords upon entering the Chamber! He would count his life dear at the price if it had to be protected by force of arms." But while he thus resisted the proposal, he carefully moderated his language and restricted himself to advising the Senate to remove the motion from the records of their proceedings.

III. But upon Junius Gallio, who had proposed that soldiers of the praetorian cohorts who had completed their period of service should acquire the right of a seat in the theatre in the fourteen rows assigned to the Knights, Tiberius made a violent attack, asking him, as though he

were actually in his presence, "what business he had to interfere with the soldiers, who should receive their orders from nobody but their officers, and their rewards from nobody but the Emperor. No doubt he fancied that his ingenuity had discovered something which the Great Augustus could not foresee! Was it not rather a device of a creature of Sejanus to sow the seeds of discord and sedition in the minds of the rough soldiers by offering them such a compliment as a bribe wherewith to corrupt their customary discipline?" As a reward for his elaborate sycophancy Gallio was immediately expelled from the Senate and subsequently banished from Italy: and as it was alleged that a life of exile in the famous and pleasant island of Lesbos, in which he had chosen to live, would be too light a punishment, he was brought back to Rome and handed over to the custody of the magistrates.

In the same despatch the Emperor, to the great delight of the Senate, crushed the ex-prætor Sextius Paconianus, an audacious, mischievous person, who pried into the secrets of every household, and who, it was alleged, had been selected by Sejanus to manufacture the plot against Caius Caesar. This revelation was instantly followed by an outburst of the long-cherished hostility which Paconianus had inspired; and he would have been condemned to suffer the extreme penalty of the law had he not undertaken to turn informer.

IV. When it appeared that the object of his attack was Latinius Latiaris, great was the delight of the Senators, who were thus provided with an opportunity for watching a struggle between two men, the prosecutor and the accused, who were both equally odious to them. Latiaris, as I have related,¹ was the principal author of the conspiracy against Titius Sabinus, and the first to pay the penalty for the crime.

Meanwhile Haterius Agrippa fell foul of the consuls of the previous year. "What," he asked, "had become of their threats of mutual impeachment? why after all their menaces did they now hold their peace? It was his firm conviction that their fears and their guilty consciences had

¹ Book IV. ch. 68, *et seq.*

effected a reconciliation between them : but the Senate were bound not to pass over in silence what they had already heard." Regulus replied that he was biding his time, and that he would demand retribution in the presence of the Emperor. Trio's answer was that it was better that the rivalry of two colleagues and any casual words they might have spoken in anger should be consigned to oblivion. As Agrippa persisted, Sanquinius Maximus, a member of consular rank, entreated the Senate not to add to the burden of the Emperor's cares by going out of their way to find fresh causes of bitterness. The Emperor, he said, was himself quite competent to prescribe the necessary remedy. Thus Regulus was saved, and Trio's destruction was postponed. As for Haterius, the detestation in which he was held increased as his contemporaries saw him, enervated by overmuch sleep or dissolute vigils, and protected by his lethargic temperament from any fear of the Emperor's cruelties, plotting in the intervals between his debauches the ruin of Rome's famous men.

V. Next, Cotta Messalinus, the author of every cruel proposal, and consequently the object of the most inveterate hatred, was at the first opportunity accused of several offences. He was charged with having spoken of Caius Caesar as a man who had sullied his manhood : with having called a banquet at which he was present with the priests on Augusta's birthday, "a funeral feast" : and on another occasion, when complaining of the influence enjoyed by Manius Lepidus and L. Arruntius, with whom he was involved in a dispute in money matters, with having concluded his tirade with the remark : "They may have the Senate, but I shall have my little Tiberius to help me." The leading men in the State strove in vain to secure his conviction on all these charges. When they pressed for his condemnation, he appealed to the Emperor ; and shortly afterwards a despatch arrived in which Tiberius made an appeal on his behalf. After tracing the origin of the friendly relations which subsisted between Cotta and himself, and reciting the numerous services which Cotta had performed, the Emperor protested against the attempt to distort expressions which had been flagrantly misrepre-

sented and the freedom of table-talk into the semblance of a crime.

VI. The commencement of the Emperor's letter was very remarkable. It began with these words :—"What am I to write to you, Conscript Fathers ? How am I to write ? or what am I not to write ? May all the gods and goddesses of Heaven visit me with more sore affliction than I daily feel, if I know !" Thus had his infamies and crimes recoiled upon his own head, bringing with them his punishment. How true were the words of the greatest of all philosophers, who used to say that if the minds of despots were to be laid bare, deep cuts and wounds would be seen in them ; for as the body is lacerated by the lash, so is the soul by cruelty, by lust, and by evil intentions.² Even so neither his high estate, nor his lonely life, availed to save Tiberius from confessing to the torments of his heart and the penalties he had to pay for his sins.

VII. The Senate was then empowered to decide the case of Caecilianus, the member who had been foremost in bringing charges against Cotta, and it was resolved that the same penalty should be inflicted as in the case of Aruseius and Sanquinius, the prosecutors of L. Arruntius. This was the highest compliment ever paid to Cotta ; for, notwithstanding the advantages of his birth, his extravagance had reduced him to indigence and his crimes had covered him with infamy ; but now, by the dignified method adopted for his vindication, he was placed on the same level as the pure and blameless Arruntius.

After this Quintus Servaeus and Minucius Thermus were arraigned. Servaeus was an ex-praetor and formerly the companion of Germanicus. Minucius was a knight by rank. Both men had enjoyed the friendship of Sejanus, but had not abused that privilege, for which reason they were now the objects of unusual commiseration. Tiberius, however, attacked them as though they had been the principal instruments of his crimes, and suggested to C. Cestius, the elder, that he should divulge to the Senate what he had written to the Emperor : Cestius accordingly undertook their prosecution.

² Plato, *Gorgias* 524 E.

The manner in which the leading members of the Senate, sometimes openly but more often in secret, played the part of vile informers, was indeed the most fatal symptom of the miseries of this period. The prosecutor might be a relative or a stranger, a friend or a person unknown; the alleged offence might be recent or so old as to have been forgotten: it made no difference. The charge might be based on a casual remark in the Forum or over a dinner; it was all one, so long as the main object of everybody was to be the first in the field and the quickest to denounce his neighbour: and while a few were actuated solely by a desire to save themselves, the greater number seem to have been infected with a kind of contagious fever.

Minucius and Servaeus were condemned, and thereupon joined the ranks of the prosecutors. Other victims were Julius Africanus, who came from the Gallic community of the Santones, and Seius Quadratus, whose birthplace I have not succeeded in tracing.

I am well aware that most writers have passed over the perils and the punishments of numbers of individuals, either because they have wearied of the multitude of them or because they have feared to fatigue their readers with what they themselves found to be an all too long and mournful catalogue. At the same time I have come across many facts which, though unrecorded by others, are well worthy of notice.

VIII. For instance, at a time when all other men had falsely disclaimed the friendship of Sejanus, M. Terentius, a Roman knight, when charged with that offence, had the courage to avow it and to make the following speech to the Senate:—

“In my present position it would perhaps be wiser to deny than to admit this charge. But come what may, I intend to admit that I was the friend of Sejanus, and, moreover, that I sought his friendship and rejoiced when I obtained it. I had seen him as his father’s colleague in command of the praetorian cohorts, and subsequently watched him filling many civilian and military offices at the same time. His relatives and connections had honours showered upon them: to be intimate with Sejanus was

to have a claim to the friendship of the Emperor : whereas those whom he hated were subjected to terror and humiliation. I do not propose to single out anyone as an instance : but I will defend at my own peril all of us who had no part in his last design.³ It was not Sejanus the Vulsinian, but a member of the Claudian and of the Julian houses, in which his marriage alliance had given him a place ; it was your son-in-law, Caesar, the partner of your consulship, and the man who performed your official functions, whom we courted. It is not for us to judge the man whom you exalt above his fellows or the reasons by which you are actuated. Heaven has given you the highest responsibility : to us is left the glory of obedience. We see only what is before our eyes, upon whom you bestow riches and honours, to whom you grant the greatest power to assist us or to do us injury ; and none can deny that these were given to Sejanus. To pry into the hidden thoughts or the secret intentions of the Emperor is an unlawful and a dangerous pursuit, and one that is not likely to be successful. Conscript Fathers, consider not the closing scene in the life of Sejanus : think rather of the sixteen years which preceded it. In those days we paid our respects even to Satrius and Pomponius : in those days it was accounted a distinction to be known to his freedmen and his doorkeepers. What then is the conclusion which I desire you to reach ? That the defence I have set up should be applied universally and indiscriminately ? By no means. But that you should draw an equitable and definite distinction. Revolutionary projects and plots against the life of the Emperor must be punished ; but we, Caesar, who renounced our friendship and severed our connection with Sejanus when you did, should, like you, receive forgiveness.”

IX. The firm dignity of this speech, and the relief of finding a man to give open expression to the feeling in every mind, carried so much weight that his prosecutors, whose former offences were now added to the charge against them, were sentenced to exile or to death.

This episode was succeeded by a letter from Tiberius

³ *i.e.* the conspiracy.

attacking Sextus Vistilius, an ex-praetor, who had won the affection of Drusus, the Emperor's brother, and who was subsequently transferred to the Emperor's own suite. His offence was a letter which he had written, or which he was falsely accused of having written, charging Caius Caesar with immorality. Banished on this account from the Emperor's table, the old man had attempted to open his veins, but his hand had trembled and he bound them up again. Thereupon he addressed a supplicatory memorial to the Emperor, but receiving a relentless reply he once more opened his veins.

Next, Annius Pollio, Appius Silanus, Scaurus Mamercus, and Sabinus Calvisius were impeached in a batch on a charge of treason: and Vinicianus Pollio was put upon his trial at the same time as his father. All these men were nobly born, and some of them had filled the highest offices of the State. The whole Senate trembled with apprehension, for there were few members who were not connected by relationship or by friendship with one or all of these illustrious personages. However, Celsus, a tribune of a city cohort, who was one of the informers on this occasion, exculpated Appius and Calvisius. The case of Pollio, Vinicianus, and Scaurus, was adjourned by the Emperor in order that he might have an opportunity of ascertaining the facts at the same time as the Senate: but his letter contained some tokens of displeasure with Scaurus.

X. Even women were not spared. They could not be accused of designs against the State, so their tears were accounted a crime: and Vitia, an old woman and the mother of Fufius Geminus, was put to death because she had wept for the death of her son.

Such were the deeds of the Senate. The Emperor in like manner hounded to death Vesularius Flaccus and Julius Marinus, two of his oldest friends, who had accompanied him to Rhodes and who would not leave him when he retired to Capreae. Vesularius had acted as an intermediary in the plot against Libo, and Marinus had been employed by Sejanus to assist in the ruin of Curtius Atticus. Hence there was considerable satisfaction when these two

men fell victims to practices of which they had themselves been exponents.

About the same date the Pontifex, L. Piso, died from natural causes—a rare occurrence in the case of a man of such distinction. He never voluntarily originated any servile proposal, and whenever necessity enforced his assent he habitually urged some sensible modification. His father, as I have mentioned, had attained the dignity of censor: he himself had reached his eightieth year when he died: and he had won triumphal honours by his operations in Thrace. But his chief title to fame was the extraordinary moderation which he displayed as Prefect of the City, an office which had recently been made permanent, and which was particularly unpopular among the citizens who chafed under the novel restraint to which they were now subjected.

XI. In the old days, during the absence from Rome of the kings, and afterwards, of the magistrates, in order that the city might not be left without some supreme authority, a temporary officer was appointed to administer justice and provide for any emergency; and tradition has it that Denter Romulus was so appointed by Romulus, and, at a later date, Numa Marcius by Tullus Hostilius and Spurius Lucretius by Tarquinius Superbus. Subsequently such appointments were made by the consuls. A trace of this ancient custom remains in the modern practice of delegating the duties of the consuls to a special officer during the Latin Festival. During the civil wars Augustus entrusted the entire administration of Rome and Italy to Cilnius Maecenas, a member of the equestrian order. But when he became Emperor of Rome, the size of the population and the tardy protection afforded by the laws induced him to select from the senators of consular rank an officer whose duty it was to control the slaves and that section of the freeborn citizens which, if not overawed, is apt to become recklessly turbulent. The first appointment was Messala Corvinus, who, however, only retained the office for a few days, after which he was dismissed on account of his alleged incompetence. He was succeeded by Taurus Statilius, who, in spite of his advanced age, performed his duties with distinction. After him Piso filled this office

for twenty years in a manner which won him similar approval: and upon his death the Senate voted him a public funeral.

XII. On the motion of Quintilianus, tribune of the plebs, the Senate next proceeded to discuss the question of a Sibylline Book which Caninius Gallus, the quindecimvir, desired to have included, by formal decree of the Senate, among the accepted Books of the Prophetess. The decree, which was passed after a division, drew from the Emperor a letter in which, after lightly reprimanding the tribune for his ignorance of ancient usage, due no doubt to his youth, he severely censured Gallus because, notwithstanding his long experience of theology and ritual, he had accepted a book of uncertain authorship, and without consulting his college, or submitting it, in accordance with the usual practice, to the judgment of the presidents of the religious orders, he had brought the matter before the Senate and induced a thin house to endorse his proposals. At the same time he reminded the Senate of an ordinance of Augustus which, in consequence of the publication of a number of spurious oracles attributed to some accredited source, provided that they should all be brought to the "praetor urbanus" within a fixed date and prohibited their further retention in private hands. A similar decree was passed by our ancestors after the burning of the Capitol in the Social War. At that time Samos, Ilium, Erythrae, and even Africa, Sicily, and the Italian Colonies, were ransacked for prophecies of the Sibyl (and there may have been more than one Sibyl), and the priests were charged with the task of distinguishing, as far as human intelligence could, those which were genuine. Accordingly the book now in question was submitted to the examination of the quindecimvirs.

XIII. In the same consulship the high price of corn nearly created a sedition, and in the theatre for several days frequent appeals were made to the Emperor for relief. The unusually aggressive and impertinent nature of these demands so irritated Tiberius that he accused the officials and the Senate of neglecting to use their public authority to check these popular outbursts. At the same

time he enumerated the provinces from which he derived the corn supply, and drew attention to the increase in the supply since the days of Augustus. The Senate thereupon framed a resolution censuring the populace in terms which recalled the severity of the old times, and the consuls issued an equally strongly-worded edict. The Emperor's own silence instead of being popular, as he had expected, was regarded as a manifestation of his haughty arrogance.

XIV. At the end of the year three Roman knights, Geminius, Celsus, and Pompeius, fell victims to a charge of complicity in the plot of Sejanus. Geminius owed his friendship with Sejanus solely to his extravagant habits and to the life of pleasure which he led : otherwise, for any serious purpose, they had nothing in common. Julius Celsus, who was a tribune, strangled himself in prison by first slackening and passing round his neck the chain with which he was bound and then drawing it tight.

Rubrius Fabatus was placed in custody on the ground that, despairing of Rome, he had intended to seek refuge in the pity of the Parthians. It is true that, when discovered near the straits of Sicily and forcibly brought back to Rome by a centurion, he was unable to offer any plausible explanation of his proposal to embark upon such a long journey. He came to no harm, however, though his immunity was due to forgetfulness rather than to clemency.

XV. In the consulship of Serv. Galba and L. Sulla, the Emperor, who had given long and anxious consideration to the choice of husbands for his two grand-
A.D. 33 daughters, realising that they were now of an age which demanded his early decision, finally selected L. Cassius and M. Vinicius. Vinicius came of a provincial stock, his birthplace being Cales. His father and his grandfather attained consular rank, but otherwise his family belonged to the equestrian order. He was a man of gentle disposition, and a polished speaker. Cassius was a member of a Roman family, plebeian in rank, but both ancient and distinguished. Though brought up under his father's stern discipline, his pliable temperament proved his passport to favour more often than his industry. These were the two men whom

Tiberius selected as husbands for the daughters of Germanicus. He gave Drusilla to Cassius, and Julia to Vinicius. He addressed a letter to the Senate on the subject, in which he paid some slight compliments to the husbands. Then, after proffering some vague excuses for his absence, he passed to more serious questions, adverting especially to the enmity which he had incurred in serving the cause of the State, and asking that the prefect Macro and a few tribunes and centurions might accompany him whenever he entered the Senate House. The Senate passed a decree ungrudgingly bestowing all he asked without any limitation in respect of the nature or numbers of his body-guard; but Tiberius never entered the city, much less the public Council Chamber. Instead, he hovered round the outskirts of his country, keeping to the by-paths, and always in the end turning his back upon it.

XVI. Meanwhile a host of informers made a vigorous assault upon those who had been enriching themselves by usury in defiance of the law of Caesar the Dictator, which imposed restrictions upon lending money and holding land within Italy. This law had fallen into desuetude, the public good being made to suffer for the sake of private advantage. Usury had long been the curse of Rome and the most frequent cause of turbulence and disorder: and therefore even in the old and less corrupt days it was subject to repressive measures. First of all it was enacted by the Twelve Tables that no rate of interest higher than ten per cent. should be exacted, whereas formerly the rate was governed only by the cupidity of the rich lenders: subsequently the tribunes of the plebs carried a proposal by which the rate was reduced to five per cent.: and finally all borrowing for the purposes of the repayment of loans was prohibited. Numerous popular decrees were passed with the object of preventing evasions, which, in spite of countless checks, were again and again revived with marvellous ingenuity.

On this occasion the praetor Gracchus, upon whom the duty of investigating the charges devolved, owing to the great number of the accused, felt obliged to refer the whole question to the Senate. The members became alarmed,

for none of them were entirely innocent of the charge. They therefore petitioned the Emperor to pardon them, and, this request being granted, a period of eighteen months was allowed in which every one was to settle his affairs in accordance with the requirements of the law.

XVII. The simultaneous calling in of all loans and the locking up of so much bullion in the Imperial or Public Treasury, caused by the numerous confiscations and forced sales, resulted in a scarcity of money. With the object of preventing this, the Senate had directed that every creditor should invest two-thirds of his capital in landed property in Italy. The creditors, however, sued for repayment in full, and the debtors considered it a point of honour not to fail to meet their engagements. Hence at first the debtors ran from money-lender to money-lender, begging for fresh loans, and in the end the praetor's court re-echoed with the creditors' claims. The forced sales which had been devised as a remedy had an exactly opposite effect; for the usurers had locked up their capital with a view to future purchases of land; the great number of estates thrown upon the market caused a fall in prices; and the more deeply the debtors were involved, the more difficult did they find it to sell. Thousands were reduced to bankruptcy, and financial ruin played havoc with rank and reputation. But at last the Emperor relieved the distress by placing at the disposal of the public banks a sum of 100,000,000 sesterces to be lent by the State for three years without interest on condition that the borrower found security in landed estate for double the amount borrowed. By this means credit was restored, and gradually private individuals also evinced a readiness to lend money again. The conditions prescribed by the Senate's decree for the sale of property were not observed for any length of time. Like all similar regulations, though stringent at the outset, in the end they were disregarded.

XVIII. These events were succeeded by a renewal of the reign of terror, when Considius Proculus was impeached for high treason. He was quietly and unsuspectingly celebrating his birthday when he was suddenly arrested, carried off to the Senate House, and there and then con-

demned and instantly executed, while his sister Sancia was outlawed. The prosecutor was Q. Pomponius, a turbulent character, who sought to excuse such conduct by alleging that his object was to win favour with the Emperor and so rescue his brother, Pomponius Secundus, from the dangers which surrounded him.

Sentence of exile was also pronounced against Pompeia Macrina, whose husband Argolicus and father-in-law Laco, two prominent Achaeans, had already fallen victims to the Emperor's displeasure. Her father also, a Roman knight of the highest rank, and her brother, a former praetor, foreseeing their inevitable condemnation, put themselves to death. Part of the charge against them was that Theophanes of Mitylene, their father or grandfather, had been an intimate friend of Pompeius the Great, and that divine honours had been bestowed upon this Theophanes after his death by the adulation of the Greeks.

XIX. Next, Sex. Marius, the richest of the Spaniards, was accused of incest with his own daughter, and hurled from the Tarpeian Rock. That there might be no doubt that his immense riches were the cause of his ruin, Tiberius annexed for himself his gold mines, although they should have escheated to the State.

The punishment of his victims served only to inflame the Emperor's lust for vengeance, and he now gave orders for the execution of all the prisoners who had been accused of complicity with Sejanus. The ground was strewn with corpses, of every age and sex, illustrious or obscure, and the bodies lay apart or were piled in heaps. Friends and relatives were forbidden to approach, to weep for their dead, or even to gaze upon them for any length of time. Guards were posted round them, marking every sign of grief, and closely watching the putrefying corpses, until at last they were cast into the Tiber, where they were left to float in the water or to drift to the banks, and no one dared to burn, or even so much as to touch them. Terror had destroyed the common dictates of humanity; and the more ferocity increased, the more was pity stifled.

XX. About this date Caius Caesar, who had accompanied his grandfather to Capreae, was married to Claudia,

the daughter of M. Silanus. Beneath an exterior of hypocritical humility Caius concealed an inhuman disposition, from which neither the condemnation of his mother nor the exile of his brother extorted a single protest. He took his cue for each day from Tiberius, presenting the same appearance, and using almost the same language as the Emperor—a characteristic which rendered famous the shrewd observation of the orator Passienus that “there had never been a better slave, nor a worse master.”

I cannot pass over a prediction of Tiberius concerning Serv. Galba, then consul. Tiberius sent for Galba and, after discussing various topics with the object of sounding him, at length addressed him as follows in the Greek language, saying, “You too, Galba, will one day have a taste of sovereignty,” thereby alluding to Galba’s tardy acquisition and short-lived enjoyment of the sweets of power which had been revealed to Tiberius by his knowledge of the art of Chaldean astrology. His retirement at Rhodes gave Tiberius an opportunity for acquiring this art and also supplied him with a master in the person of Thrasyllus, whose skill he proved in the following manner.

XXI. Whenever he desired to consult the stars in reference to any matter of this kind, he used to retire to a lofty part of the house, taking a single freedman as his companion and confidant. This freedman, who was an uneducated man but of great physical strength, used to conduct the astrologer whose skill Tiberius proposed to test up a steep and precipitous path, for the house stood on the top of a high cliff: and, if there was the slightest suspicion of charlatanism or fraud, he would seize the impostor as he was taking his departure and hurl him into the sea below, that there might be no living witness to betray the secret. Thrasyllus was conducted by the usual rocky path into the presence of Tiberius, who questioned him closely. Astounded by the prediction that he would one day succeed to the throne and by the astrologer’s skilful forecasts of future events, Tiberius asked Thrasyllus whether he had also cast his own horoscope, and if so what that very year and that very day portended for him. Thrasyllus, observing the positions of the planets and measuring their

distances, first hesitated, and then began to tremble ; and the further he carried his calculations, the more agitated did he become with amazement and apprehension. At last he cried aloud that he was in sore peril, and that his position was becoming so critical as to be almost fatal. Thereupon Tiberius embraced him, congratulating him on his power to foresee the danger which threatened him and promising that no harm should come to him. Moreover, he looked upon the words of Thrasyllus as the prophecies of an oracle, and henceforth treated him as one of his most intimate friends.

XXII. When I consider these and similar stories, I confess I find it difficult to determine whether it is by fate and unalterable necessity or by mere chance that human destiny is decided. The greatest of the ancient philosophers, and the modern adherents of their various schools, will be found to hold opposite opinions upon this question. There are many who are imbued with the doctrine that the gods concern themselves neither with our beginnings nor our ends, nor, in a word, with mankind at all ; and that this is the reason why so often the good are visited with sorrow, while the bad flourish and prosper. Others, on the contrary, believe that the course of events is in accordance with predestination : such predestination, however, is, they affirm, not determined by the vague movements of the planets, but is inherent in the foundations and sequences of natural causes. Nevertheless this school allows us to choose our lives, but, when once the choice is made, it is followed, they say, by a chain of inevitable consequences. They further hold that good and evil are not what they are popularly supposed to be : that many who appear to be struggling with adversity are really blessed, while numbers, notwithstanding their great riches, are supremely unhappy, since the former endure the buffets of fortune with equanimity, while the latter unwisely abuse their prosperity. Most men, however, refuse to abandon the belief that the future of every human being is determined at the moment of his birth ; and, while admitting that predictions are sometimes falsified, they attribute this to the error of those who prophesy without knowledge and

thereby bring discredit upon an art, of which both ancient and modern times have afforded many convincing illustrations. Indeed, the son of this very Thrasyllus foretold the future reign of Nero: but this shall be related in due course, for I must not digress any further from my subject.

XXIII. In the same consulship the death of Asinius Gallus was reported. That he perished of starvation, was undoubted; but whether voluntarily or from necessity, was uncertain. When the Emperor was asked whether he would allow Gallus to be buried, he had the unblushing effrontery to give his permission and actually to complain of the hard fate whereby the accused had succumbed before he could be publicly convicted—as if the three years which had elapsed since his arrest had not sufficed to bring this old man, a former consul and the father of so many of consular rank, to trial!

Then Drusus died, after supporting life for nine days in the most pitiful manner by chewing the stuffing of his bed. According to one report Macro had received orders to take the young prince out of prison (for he was incarcerated in the Palatium) and put him at the head of the people if Sejanus attempted armed resistance. Subsequently, because there was a rumour that a reconciliation between himself and his daughter-in-law and grandson was imminent, Tiberius changed his mind, preferring cruelty to an appearance of relenting.

XXIV. He even assailed the deceased prince with vituperation, accusing him of unnatural practices and stigmatising him as one who had been a curse to his own family and an enemy to the State; and he ordered a daily account which had been kept of all he ever said or did to be read to the Senate. It was a truly terrible record. That spies should have watched Drusus for all these years and noted every look, every sigh, every stifled murmur; that his grandfather could have heard, could have read, and could have published their reports to the world, would have been scarcely credible, but for the fact that the letters of the centurion Attius and of the freedman Didymus made specific mention of the names of the slaves who had struck and terrified Drusus every time he tried to leave his bed-

chamber. The centurion even quoted his own brutal speeches, as though he were proud of them, and repeated the words of the dying man, who had first feigned insanity and cursed Tiberius like a raving madman, but afterwards, when despairing of his life, had carefully thought out his bitter imprecations, praying that the murderer of his own son's daughter, of his own brother's son, of his grandchildren, and of his whole household, might pay such penalties for his misdeeds as the vengeance of his ancestors and of his posterity demanded. This recital was interrupted by the Senate, who affected to express their horror : but in truth they were filled with terror and amazement when they saw the once cautious Emperor, formerly so anxious to cover up all traces of his crimes, now so brazenly confident, that he seemed, as it were, to be tearing down a screen, so as to expose to their horrified view the spectacle of his grandson quivering under the centurion's lash, reeling under the blows of the slaves, and in his dire extremity begging in vain for any food that could possibly support life.

XXV. The grief occasioned by this event had not yet subsided when the death of Agrippina was announced. I imagine that the execution of Sejanus renewed her hopes and thereby prolonged her life, but that when she found that the Emperor's cruelty continued without abatement, she put herself to death : unless indeed she was denied all sustenance so that it might appear that she had voluntarily made away with herself. Tiberius, at any rate, launched into the foulest accusations against her memory, charging her with loose living, and alleging that she had been engaged in an intrigue with Asinius Gallus, whose death, he asserted, had made life unendurable to her : whereas her masculine preoccupations left no place for such feminine frailties in this domineering and ambitious soul. Tiberius further observed that her death took place on the second anniversary of the day on which Sejanus had expiated his crimes, and signified his wish that this coincidence should be commemorated. At the same time he took to himself great credit because she had not been strangled by the hangman and her body cast out upon the Gemonian Steps.

The Senate thereupon accorded him a formal vote of thanks, and passed a resolution providing that every year on the 17th October, the anniversary of the deaths of both Agrippina and Sejanus, an offering should be made to Jupiter.

XXVI. Shortly afterwards Cocceius Nerva, who had been the inseparable companion of the Emperor, whose knowledge of jurisprudence, human and divine, was profound, whose position was perfectly secure, and who was free from all physical infirmities, made up his mind to die. When Tiberius heard of this resolution, he would not leave his side, but pestered him with requests for an explanation, plied him with entreaties, and finally confessed that it would be a heavy burden on his conscience and a deep blot upon his fame if his nearest and dearest friend were to run away from life when he had no reason to die. Nerva, however, turned a deaf ear to his expostulations, and persisted in his resolution to starve himself to death. Those who were privileged to share his confidence affirmed that, as his peculiar opportunities enabled him to see from a nearer standpoint than any others the evils which afflicted the State, fear and indignation had driven him to seek an honourable death while his position was still secure, and still free from attack.

Paradoxical as it may appear, Agrippina's death sealed the fate of Plancina. Formerly the wife of Cn. Piso, Plancina had openly exulted in the death of Germanicus; but after the fall of Piso, she owed her immunity as much to the hatred of Agrippina as to the entreaties of Augusta on her behalf. But when the hatred of the one, and the favour of the other failed, justice triumphed. Accused of manifest offences, she took her own life and thus suffered a long-delayed but not unmerited punishment for her misdeeds.

XXVII. Amid the general mourning occasioned by all these calamities Rome felt a further sorrow when Julia, the daughter of Drusus and formerly the wife of Nero, was married to Rubellius Blandus, whose grandfather was remembered by many as a simple Roman knight of Tibur.

At the close of the year Aelius Lamia died and was

accorded a public funeral. Nominally governor of Syria, he had at last been permitted to resign this sham appointment in order to assume the office of Prefect of the City. He was a man of distinguished descent, and vigorous in his old age; and that he was not allowed to enjoy the governorship to which he had been appointed only increased the estimation in which he was held.

Upon the death of Pomponius Flaccus, *propraetor* of Syria, a letter was read to the Senate in which the Emperor complained that the best men and those who were most suited for the command of the armies refused to undertake such duties, and that he was therefore reduced to the necessity of begging the Senate to select some members of consular rank to take over the administration of the provinces. He had apparently forgotten that for ten years he had been preventing Arruntius from proceeding to Spain.

In the same year also the death took place of Manius Lepidus, whose prudence and moderation I have sufficiently commemorated in the earlier books. Neither is there any need to dwell upon the nobility of his descent: for the Aemilian race has always been prolific in producing good citizens, and even those members of the family who have been degenerate in character have nevertheless enjoyed a brilliant career.

XXVIII. In the consulship of Paulus Fabius and L. Vitellius, after the lapse of many centuries, the phoenix appeared in Egypt. The arrival of this marvellous bird gave rise to much speculation among the learned native inhabitants and Greeks. It may be interesting to mention the points upon which there is general agreement, and some which, though doubtful, are yet sufficiently reasonable to deserve to be recorded.

The phoenix is sacred to the Sun. Those writers who have given a description of it agree in stating that in the shape of its beak and in the colour of its plumage it is quite different from all other birds. As to its length of life, there are various accounts: the one most usually accepted gives it as five hundred years; but there are some who main-

tain that there was an interval of one thousand four hundred and sixty-one years between each of its visits, that these birds appeared for the first time in the reign of Sesostris, the second time in the reign of Amasis, and again in the reign of Ptolemaeus, the third of the Macedonian kings, and that they flew to Heliopolis followed by a great number of other birds which were attracted by the appearance of these strange creatures. But the former dates are lost in obscurity. Between Ptolemaeus and Tiberius there was an interval of less than two hundred and fifty years. Wherefore some have concluded that this was not a genuine phoenix, that it did not come from Arabia, and that it had none of the peculiar characteristics which ancient tradition ascribed to the real species. It is said that, having arrived at the end of its journey and feeling death approaching, the phoenix builds in its native land a nest which it impregnates with a generative element from which the young bird is born : that the first care of the young one as soon as it is full grown is to bury the parent bird, a task which is not lightly or unadvisedly undertaken ; for it begins by weighting itself with myrrh and testing its strength by long flights, and when it finds itself equal to the burden and strong enough for the journey, it takes the body of the parent bird on its back and carries it to the altar of the Sun where it burns it. Such accounts are very dubious, and are rendered more so by the admixture of pure fables : but there is no question that this bird does on rare occasions make its appearance in Egypt.

XXIX. The bloodshed at Rome continued without intermission. Pomponius Labeo, who, as I have previously mentioned, had been governor of Moesia,⁴ put himself to death by opening his veins, and his wife Paxaea followed his example. Suicides, such as these, were prompted by fear of the executioner and by the further consideration that those who were condemned were deprived of the rights of burial and their property was confiscated, whereas those who put an end to themselves received as the price for accelerating their own deaths the privilege of decent interment and the assurance that their testa-

⁴ See Book IV. ch. 47.

mentary bequests would be accepted as valid. The Emperor, nevertheless, wrote the Senate a letter in which he observed that, "whenever our ancestors desired to break off friendly relations with any persons, it was the custom to forbid them their house and then put an end to all kindly intercourse : this precedent he had followed in the case of Labeo, who, finding himself unable to meet the charge of maladministration of his province and other accusations, had sheltered his misdeeds behind the odium to which others were subjected by the manner of his death : and as for his wife, she had had no reason to be alarmed, for, notwithstanding her guilt, her life had not been in danger."

Mamercus Scaurus, distinguished both by his noble descent and his eloquence as an advocate, but notorious for his profligacy, was then impeached for the second time. His fall was due not to the friendship of Sejanus, but to the equally fatal hatred of Macro, who repeated, though with more secrecy, the practices of his predecessor. Macro based his charges against Scaurus upon the plot of a tragedy written by the latter, from which he quoted verses which might be distorted into a reflection upon Tiberius. Servilius and Cornelius, however, the actual prosecutors, alleged that he was guilty of adultery with Livia, and of practising magic rites. Scaurus, in a spirit worthy of his Aemilian forefathers, anticipated his condemnation and yielded to the persuasion of his wife Sextia, who shared the death to which she urged him.

XXX. At the same time, whenever an opportunity occurred, advantage was taken of it to punish the prosecutors, and accordingly Servilius and Cornelius, who had achieved notoriety by ruining Scaurus, being convicted of having taken money from Varius Ligur on condition that they abandoned the proceedings with which they had menaced him, were banished to the islands and outlawed. Similarly, Abudius Ruso, an ex-aedile, who had threatened to denounce Lentulus Gaetulicus, under whom he had served in commandⁿ of a legion, for having selected the son of Sejanus as his daughter's husband, was himself condemned and expelled from Rome. Gaetulicus was at this

period at the head of the legions of Upper Germany, with whom he had gained extraordinary popularity by reason of his extreme indulgence and his moderation in exacting punishment, while the neighbouring army were by no means averse from the son-in-law of Apronius, their own commander. Hence there is a generally accepted tradition that he boldly wrote to the Emperor saying that "the project of an alliance between his family and that of Sejanus had its origin not from his own initiative but in the Emperor's own advice: that it was just as likely that he should have been deceived as Tiberius himself, and that one and the same mistake should not be a pardonable error in one case but a fatal error in all others: his own loyalty was unshaken, and would be, so long as he was free from attack; but if he were superseded, he could not regard the appointment of a successor otherwise than as a warning that he was to die: why not then conclude a kind of treaty by which the Emperor would remain in possession of the rest of the world, while he retained his province?"

This story, however amazing it may appear, gained credence when it was seen that Gaetulicus alone of all who were in any way connected with Sejanus remained unharmed and in high favour: and we may suppose that Tiberius, remembering the general hatred which he had incurred and his extreme age, realised that his power depended upon reputation rather than force.

XXXI. In the consulship of C. Cestius and M. Servilius certain Parthian nobles came to Rome without the knowledge of their king Artabanus. So long as he stood in awe of Germanicus, Artabanus conducted himself with loyalty towards the Romans and with justice and moderation in his treatment of his own people; but at a later period he assumed an insolent attitude in his bearing towards us, and behaved with cruelty towards his countrymen, relying upon the success which had attended him in his wars with neighbouring races, and despising Tiberius as one who had become impotent in his old age. Moreover he coveted Armenia for himself, and on the death of King Artaxias, placed Arsaces, the eldest of his own children, on the

throne : and, by way of adding insult to injury, sent envoys to demand the restoration of the treasures left by Vonones in Syria and Cilicia. At the same time he spoke grandiloquently of the ancient boundaries of the Persian and Macedonian Empires, and boasted of his intention to take possession of all the territory over which Cyrus and, later, Alexander held sway. The most powerful advocate among the Parthians of the secret mission to Rome was Sinnaces, who was distinguished alike for his high birth and great wealth, and next to him was Abdus, a eunuch. Among barbarian nations, it may be remarked, to be a eunuch, so far from earning contempt, is frequently a source of power. The two confederates took others of the nobles into their confidence ; and as there was no member of the Arsacid race available whom they could place on the throne, for most of this family had been slain by Artabanus and the others had not yet reached maturity, they asked Rome to give them Phraates, son of King Phraates : all they needed, they declared, was the name coupled with the sanction of Rome ; given that, with the approval of Caesar, a descendant of Arsaces would soon be seen on the banks of the Euphrates.

XXXII. This plan completely accorded with the wishes of Tiberius, and, true to his favourite policy of employing the arts of diplomacy and shunning the use of force in his relations with external races, he encouraged Phraates by his gifts and by his moral support to make an effort to seize the throne of his forefathers. Meanwhile Artabanus had discovered the conspiracy, and the fear which for a moment seemed to paralyse him was instantly succeeded by a burning desire for vengeance. In the eyes of barbarian peoples to temporise is the quality of a slave, prompt action the method of a king. Prudence, however, so far prevailed that, under the guise of friendship, he invited Abdus to a banquet and then administered to him a slow poison which left his victim helpless as in a snare, and at the same time he effectually retarded the further activity of Sinnaces by dissimulating his real feelings, by making him presents, and by employing him on business of different kinds. Phraates on arriving in Syria abandoned the habits

to which so many years spent in Roman society had accustomed him, and adopted the customs of the Parthians ; but he was unfitted for the life which his forefathers had led ; his health failed and he succumbed to a disease which attacked him. Tiberius, however, refused to relinquish his project. He found a rival to Artabanus in Tiridates, a prince of the same blood ; selected Mithridates the Hiberian for the task of recovering Armenia ; effected a reconciliation between Mithridates and his brother Pharasmanes, who had inherited the throne of his ancestors ; and appointed L. Vitellius to direct all the operations in the East. This man, I am well aware, acquired a sinister reputation in Rome, and many infamous deeds are charged to his memory. Nevertheless his administration in the provinces was conducted in accordance with the best traditions of the past. On his return to Rome, however, his dread of C. Caesar and his intimacy with Claudius wrought a change in his character, which led him into shameful servility, and which has made him in later days a typical example of sycophantic degradation. The end of his career belied his early promise, and the fair record of his youth was effaced by the infamies which besmirched his old age.

XXXIII. The first of the afore-mentioned princes to make a move was Mithridates, who by a combination of force and cunning prevailed upon Pharasmanes to assist him in his enterprise. Agents were employed who bribed the servants of Arsaces and purchased their treachery at the price of much gold. At the same time the Hiberi burst into Armenia with a large force and seized the city of Artaxata. When Artabanus heard of this, he commissioned his son Orodes to exact vengeance from the aggressors. He gave him an army composed of Parthians and sent his agents to enlist mercenaries. Pharasmanes, on his side, contracted an alliance with the Albani, and invited the co-operation of the Sarmatae, whose chieftains, following the custom of this race, accepted payment from both parties and took opposite sides in the campaign. The Hiberi being masters of the country, their Sarmatian auxiliaries poured through the Caspian gate into Armenia ; but the other Sarmatae who were coming to assist the

Parthians were intercepted without difficulty, for the enemy had occupied all the passes except the one between the sea and the last spur of the Albanian mountains, and this was impracticable in the summer. * For at that period of the year, owing to the action of the northerly winds, the coast-tract is submerged. It is only when in winter the southerly winds roll back the waters and drive the sea into its normal channel, that the shallows are exposed.

XXXIV. Finding himself thus reinforced while his adversary was deprived of his expected succours, Pharasmanes offered Orodes battle ; and when Orodes declined an engagement, Pharasmanes adopted harassing tactics. He rode right up to the enemy's lines, cut off his foraging parties, and practically invested his position : until at length the Parthians, who were unaccustomed to such indignities, gathered round their king and demanded battle.

The Parthians' whole force consisted of their cavalry. Pharasmanes, on the other hand, was strong in infantry also : for the Hiberi and Albani, inhabiting a land of forests, are more inured to a life of hardship and travail. They aver that they are descended from the Thessalians, and that the origin of their race dates from the time when Jason, after carrying off Medea and after the birth of the children whom he had by her, returned to the empty palace of Æetes and the vacant throne of Colchis. Jason's name, indeed, is commemorated in many ways in this country, and the oracle of Phrixus is held in especial reverence by them ; and none of them would ever think of sacrificing a ram, for the tradition runs that Phrixus was carried across the sea on the back of that animal, although perhaps the ram was only the ship's device.

The two armies being drawn up in order of battle, the Parthian leader addressed his troops, contrasting the great Empire of the East and the glorious race of the Arsacidæ with the base-born Hiberi and their mercenaries. Pharasmanes, on his side, reminded his people that they had never submitted to the Parthian yoke. The greater the object for which they were fighting, the greater, he declared, would be their glory if they were victorious, but the greater their disgrace and their peril if they fled. At

the same time, pointing first to his own rugged ranks and then to the gilded panoply of the Medes, "Here," he said, "are the warriors, and yonder is their booty."

XXXV. In the ranks of the Sarmatae the general's words were supplemented by the cries of mutual encouragement with which each man exhorted his comrades not to let the battle be an affair of bows and arrows, but to charge into the thick of the enemy and rob him of his advantage by getting to close quarters. Hence the diversity of the tactics employed by the different combatants: the Parthian horsemen, trained either to pursue or to retreat with equal skill, adopting an open formation and striving to obtain space to enable them to shoot with effect; the Sarmatae, abandoning their bows, which have a shorter range than the Parthians' weapons, and hurling themselves upon the enemy with their pikes and their swords. At one moment the combat presented the appearance of a cavalry engagement, a series of successive charges and retreats; but before long the opposing forces became locked together and were pushed backwards and forwards by the weight of men and the shock of arms. By this time the Albani and Hiberi had begun to grapple with the enemy and dismount them, and the latter soon found themselves in a perilous predicament, for while the horsemen struck at them from above, the foot-soldiers were getting their blows in at even closer quarters. Meanwhile Pharasmanes and Orodes rendered themselves so conspicuous by their endeavours to assist their valiant and rally their wavering supporters that they recognised one another. With loud shouts, and brandishing their weapons, they set their horses to the charge. Pharasmanes was the more vigorous of the two, and he dealt Orodes a blow which wounded him through his helmet. But he was unable to follow up his advantage, for his charger carried him onwards, and the wounded man was succoured by the bravest of his body-guards. Nevertheless a false report that Orodes was slain so dismayed the Parthians that they conceded the victory to their opponents.

XXXVI. Thereupon Artabanus summoned the whole resources of his kingdom to avenge this defeat. But owing

to the knowledge of the country which they had now acquired, the issue of the campaign was more favourable to the Hiberi than to their adversaries. Artabanus, however, refused to withdraw until Vitellius, by concentrating his legions and spreading a report of a contemplated invasion of Mesopotamia, frightened him with the prospect of a war with Rome. Thereupon Artabanus abandoned Armenia, and his position became desperate when Vitellius proceeded to beguile the Parthians to desert a king who had proved himself a savage tyrant in time of peace, and who was bringing ruin upon his subjects by the reverses he had suffered in war. Sinnaces, who, as I have previously mentioned, was hostile to Artabanus, induced his father Abdagaeses and others, whose secret designs had been encouraged by the continuous series of disasters, to join the insurrectionary movement; and their numbers were gradually swollen by the adhesion of those, whose previous submissiveness had been the result of fear rather than loyal regard for the throne, but who regained their courage when the leaders of the revolt appeared on the scene. Artabanus had now no supporters to whom he could turn, with the exception of a band of foreigners whom he formed into a bodyguard. These men were one and all outcasts from their own lands, with no sense of honour, absolutely unscrupulous, mere mercenaries and the hired instruments of crime. Accompanied by this gang of desperadoes, he fled hastily to the distant frontiers of Scythia, hoping for assistance from the Hyrcani and the Carmanii with whom he was connected by ties of kinship, and reckoning also on the possibility that the Parthians, who had generally shown themselves to be as well-intentioned towards their absent monarchs as they were inconstant to those that were present, would in the meantime relent.

XXXVII. Vitellius, learning that Artabanus had fled, and perceiving that the inclination of his subjects was in favour of a new king, exhorted Tiridates to seize the opportunity thus afforded him, and marched a strong force, composed of Roman legions and auxiliary troops, to the bank of the Euphrates. Upon their arrival the two leaders offered up

sacrifices, Vitellius, following the Roman custom, sacrificing a pig, a sheep, and a bull, and Tiridates offering a horse to propitiate the great River. While they were thus engaged, the inhabitants who dwelt on the banks reported that, though there had been no excessive rainfall, the Euphrates had risen of its own accord to an unprecedented height, and that the white foam was forming in circles like diadems : and this they took to be an omen of an auspicious crossing. A few, however, who favoured a more subtle interpretation, maintained that this phenomenon portended a prosperous commencement for the enterprise, but not its continued success ; for whereas portents of earth or sky were generally reliable, the characteristic of rivers was their mutability, which resulted in their revealing an omen and at the same moment sweeping it away. However, a bridge of boats was constructed and the passage of the army was effected. The first to arrive in the camp was Ornospadēs, who was accompanied by several thousand horsemen. Formerly an exile from his own country, Ornospadēs distinguished himself by the assistance which he had rendered to Tiberius during the later stages of the Dalmatian War. For his services on this occasion he was rewarded with the Roman citizenship. Subsequently he regained the favour of his king, who conferred many marks of distinction upon him and made him governor of the territory which is bounded by the celebrated rivers Euphrates and Tigris and called Mesopotamia. Shortly afterwards Sinnaces appeared with fresh reinforcements, and Abdagaeses, the mainstay of the insurgents, arrived, bringing the king's treasure and the regalia.

Believing that the demonstration made by the Roman army would suffice for the object he had in view, Vitellius addressed Tiridates and his principal supporters, exhorting the former to remember the double distinction he enjoyed in being the grandson of Phraates and the foster-son of Caesar, and the latter to maintain their loyalty to their sovereign, their respect for Rome, and their own honour and good faith : after which he returned with his legions to Syria.

XXXVIII. These events were spread over a period com-

prising two summers. But I have related them as a continuous narrative in order to afford a temporary relief from the domestic evils which afflicted Rome. For though it was now three years since the death of Sejanus, neither time, nor prayers, nor satiety, which usually suffice to soften the hardest hearts, had availed to appease the anger of Tiberius : on the contrary, he treated obscure, forgotten acts as recent and heinous crimes, and punished them accordingly. Terrified by these examples, Fulcinus Trio could not bring himself to brave the storm with which his accusers menaced him ; but in his final depositions he made a long and savage attack upon Macro and the Emperor's principal freedmen, and suggested that the Emperor himself was now in his dotage, and that his continued retirement practically amounted to exile. Trio's heirs kept this document in the background, but Tiberius ordered it to be read, affecting to tolerate independent criticism and to regard his own evil reputation with contemptuous indifference ; or possibly, having so long remained in ignorance of the crimes committed by Sejanus, he was now anxious that they should be published to the world by any mouthpiece, and that abuse should at any rate teach him the truth which flattery tried to smother.

At the same date the senator Granius Martianus was impeached by C. Gracchus on a charge of treason, and put himself to death ; and Tattius Gratianus, an ex-praetor, was convicted under the same statute and condemned to suffer the extreme penalty of the law.

XXXIX. A similar fate befell Trebellienus Rufus and Sextius Paconianus. Trebellienus died by his own hand ; and Paconianus, who while in prison had composed some verses attacking the Emperor, was strangled there. News of these executions had no longer to be carried across the sea, nor had the messengers far to travel ; for Tiberius was now close to Rome, where he could answer the consuls' letters on the same day or the next morning, and where he could, as it were, gaze upon the river of blood which was flowing over the homes of his subjects, and watch the awful handiwork of his butchers.

At the end of the year the death occurred of Poppaeus

Sabinus, who, notwithstanding his comparatively humble origin, had, thanks to the friendship of the Imperial House, risen to the consulship, acquired triumphal honours, and for twenty-four years governed the most important provinces. Not endowed with any extraordinary ability, he nevertheless proved himself to be a capable official, without developing any of those qualities which might have raised him to higher things.

XL. The consuls of the following year were Quintus Plautius and Sex. Papinius. Rome had grown so accustomed to horrors that the dreadful fate
A.D. 36. which befell L. Aruseius and others in that year failed to shock her; but even Rome shuddered at the death of Vibulenus Agrippa. This Roman knight, after hearing the case against him stated by his prosecutors, took some poison from beneath his robes and swallowed it before the eyes of the whole Senate. He fell dying to the ground, but was hastily seized by the lictors and carried off to the prison, where a rope was tied round his neck and his lifeless corpse was strangled.

Tigranes even, once the sovereign of Armenia, now arraigned as a common criminal, despite his royal rank suffered a citizen's punishment.

C. Galba, an ex-consul, and the two Blaesi committed suicide; Galba, in consequence of a threatening letter which the Emperor had written prohibiting his candidature for a provincial governorship: the Blaesi, because the priesthoods promised to them in the days of their prosperity had been withheld by the Emperor when their house was shaken to its foundations, and finally bestowed by him upon others as though they were appointments to a now vacant office. This they regarded as their death-warrant and acted upon it accordingly.

Aemilia Lepida, whose marriage with the young Drusus I have recorded, and who had persecuted her husband by bringing accusation after accusation against him, notwithstanding the abhorrence with which she was regarded, went unpunished so long as her father Lepidus was alive: but after his death the informers fell upon her. She was charged with committing adultery with a slave: and her

manifest guilt was unquestioned. Accordingly she abandoned all attempts to defend herself, and put an end to her own life.

XLI. About this period the Clitae, a tribe owing subjection to Archelaus of Cappadocia, resenting the forced assessment and compulsory tribute exacted by the Roman administration, seceded to the heights of Mt. Taurus, where the natural advantages of their position enabled them to hold out against the unwarlike troops of the King. But at last the legate M. Trebellius, who had been sent by Vitellius, the governor of Syria, with 4000 legionaries and some picked auxiliaries, threw up earthworks and invested the two spurs occupied by the natives, the lesser of which was named Cadra, and the other Davara. Some of the natives who attempted to make a sortie were put to the sword, and the rest were compelled by want of water to surrender.

Meanwhile Tiridates, with the acquiescence of the Parthians, took possession of Nicephorium, Anthemusias, and other cities, which were founded by the Macedonians and called by Greek names. He took also the Parthian towns of Halus and Artemita; and he was received with enthusiasm by the people, who, disgusted with the cruelty of the Scythian bred Artabanus, hoped to find in Tiridates the urbanity with which his Roman education should have endowed him.

XLII. The most flattering reception was accorded by Seleucia, a powerful walled town, which, instead of lapsing into barbarism, has kept alive the spirit of its founder Seleucus. Three hundred citizens distinguished for their wealth or their wisdom form a kind of Senate: but the people also possess political power. When the two orders live in harmony together, they can afford to despise the Parthians: but when dissensions arise, each party summons assistance against its rivals, and then the alien who has been called in to subdue one party asserts his supremacy over both. This is what had recently occurred during the reign of Artabanus, who, to serve his own advantage, had placed the populace at the mercy of the aristocracy: for popular government is akin to liberty, whereas an olig-

archical despotism bears a closer resemblance to irresponsible autocracy. When Tiridates entered the city he was greeted by the inhabitants with all the honours accorded to the kings of old, and the even more effusive demonstrations which are the product of our own times ; at the same time every insult was heaped upon Artabanus, who, they said, was only a true Arsacid on the mother's side, and otherwise unworthy of that great family. Tiridates now restored the popular government of Seleucia. He was deliberating with regard to the date on which he should solemnly assume the attributes of sovereignty when he received letters from Phraates and Hiero, the principal subordinate governors, entreating a brief postponement. He therefore decided to await the pleasure of these two powerful personages, and meanwhile repaired to Ctesiphon, the capital of the Empire. But as day after day went by and only brought a request for still further delay, the Surena⁵ finally crowned Tiridates according to the national custom in the presence of a large and enthusiastic concourse.

XLIII. Had Tiridates at once gone into the interior and visited the other races of the Empire, he would have overcome the reluctance of those who still hesitated to declare for him, and the whole country would have recognised him. By loitering at the castle in which Artabanus had collected his treasure and his concubines, he afforded his treacherous adherents an opportunity to cast off their allegiance. Phraates, Hiero, and all the others who had neglected to attend on the day chosen for the ceremony of his coronation, actuated either by fear for the consequences or by hatred of Abdagaeses, who now ruled both the Court and the new King, went over to Artabanus. They found him in Hyrcania, living in squalor and depending for his subsistence on what he could shoot with his bow. At first he was terrified by their arrival and suspected treachery ; but when they pledged him their word that they had come to restore him to his throne, he regained his composure and inquired the reason for the sudden change. There-

⁵ An official title held by the highest official, probably the commander-in-chief of the army.

upon Hiero launched into an invective against the puerility of Tiridates, declaring that the reins of Empire were not in the hands of an Arsacid, but that while the empty title belonged to a weak and cowardly prince, enervated by foreign effeminacy, the real power was vested in the house of Abdagaeses.

XLIV. The old king's long experience taught him that, though their love might be false, their hate was entirely genuine. He only waited just long enough to collect some Scythian auxiliaries; after which he set out in hot haste, giving no time for his enemies to intrigue against him or for his fickle friends to change their minds. He even preserved his appearance of squalor in order to excite the pity of the populace. There were no wiles, no prayers, no artifices of any kind of which he did not avail himself to win over his doubtful, and strengthen his resolute, supporters. He was already nearing Seleucia with a strong force while Tiridates, totally unnerved by the simultaneous report of his enemy's approach and of his actual arrival, was still distracted between the alternatives of marching out to oppose his advance or of protracting the war by a policy of delay. Those of his counsellors who were in favour of settling the crisis at once by fighting a battle, reasoned that the enemy must be disorganised and exhausted by their long march, and that troops, who had so recently betrayed and fought against the master whom they were now serving, could not yet have even attuned their minds to habits of discipline and obedience. Abdagaeses, on the other hand, counselled a retreat into Mesopotamia, which would enable them to place the river between themselves and the enemy, and in the meantime to raise the Armenians, the Elymaei, and other nations in their rear, after which they might essay their fortune when reinforced by these allied forces and by the troops which the Roman general despatched to their assistance. This opinion prevailed, for the influence which Abdagaeses possessed was very considerable, and Tiridates was a craven in the face of danger. The retreat, however, bore the appearance of a rout: the Arabians having set the example, the other tribes dispersed to their homes or deserted to the camp of Artabanus, and finally

Tiridates returned with a handful of men to Syria, and so saved them all from the disgrace of betraying him.

XLV. In the same year a destructive fire occurred in Rome, that portion of the Circus which adjoins the Aventine being burnt to the ground, together with the Aventine quarter itself. The Emperor made capital out of this disaster by paying the full price of the mansions and blocks of houses destroyed. His generosity cost him 100,000,000 sesterces, and it was appreciated all the more highly because he spent very little on his private buildings, and indeed constructed only two public works, namely the Temple of Augustus and the stage of the Theatre of Pompeius : moreover, when these were finished, owing either to his contemptuous indifference to popular approval or to his old age, he neglected to dedicate them. The Emperor's four grandsons-in-law, Cn. Domitius, Cassius Longinus, M. Vinicius, and Rubellius Blandus, were appointed as commissioners for the purpose of estimating the loss suffered by each individual, and P. Petronius was added to their number on the nomination of the consuls. Every honour that ingenuity could devise was decreed to the Emperor ; but what he refused and what he accepted was uncertain because his end was now approaching.

Indeed, shortly afterwards the last consuls of the reign of Tiberius, Cn. Acerronius and C. Pontius, entered upon their term of office. Macro's power had now become
A.D. 37. excessive. Never indifferent to the favour of C. Caesar, he now cultivated his friendship more assiduously every day. After the death of Claudia, who, as I have mentioned, had been married to Caius, Macro induced his own wife Ennia to simulate a passion for the young prince and obtain a hold over him by a promise of marriage. Caius, on his side, shrank from nothing provided that he obtained the succession to the throne ; for despite his passionate temperament he had learnt the wiles of dissimulation from his grandfather's lips.

XLVI. The Emperor knew this, and therefore hesitated to appoint him his successor. Of his two grandsons, the son of Drusus was both nearer and dearer to him, but he was still a child ; whereas the son of Germanicus was in the

vigour of his youth and the people's favourite, but on that account disliked by his grandfather. The claims of Claudius, who was of mature age and had a taste for the liberal arts, appeared to Tiberius to be barred by his mental infirmity. Were he to choose a successor from outside his own house, he feared he might thereby expose the memory of Augustus and the name of the Caesars to ridicule and insult ; and he cared less for the approval of his contemporaries than for the verdict of posterity. In the end, irresolute in mind, and worn out in body, he resigned the question, which he was unequal to face, to the decision of Fate. At the same time some expressions fell from his lips which seemed to indicate that he foresaw the course of events. There was no obscurity in the allegory he used when he reproached Macro with turning away from the setting, and fixing his eyes upon the rising, sun. Again, when Caius in the course of a conversation spoke slightly of L. Sulla, he predicted that Caius would have all Sulla's vices and none of his virtues. Similarly, when embracing with many tears his younger grandson and observing Caius scowling at them, he remarked, " You will kill this child, and another will kill you."

Notwithstanding his increasing ill-health, Tiberius would not deny himself any of his debaucheries. He made his powers of endurance pass for strength, and used to ridicule the doctors and their craft and those persons who after their thirtieth year needed extraneous assistance to determine what was good or bad for their bodies.

XLVII. At Rome, meanwhile, the seeds were being sown from which a series of murders was to spring even after the death of Tiberius. Laelius Balbus had accused Acutia, formerly the wife of P. Vitellius, on a charge of treason ; and upon her condemnation a reward was on the point of being voted to her prosecutor when Junius Otho, tribune of the plebs, interposed his veto. Hence arose the ill-feeling between the two which eventually proved fatal to Otho.

Next, Albucilla, a woman who was notorious for the number of her amours, and who had been married to Satrius Secundus, by whose information the conspiracy

of Sejanus had been discovered, was accused of impiety towards the Emperor ; and Cn. Domitius, Vibius Marsus, and L. Arruntius were charged with being her accomplices and her paramours. I have already recorded the claims to distinction possessed by Domitius : Marsus also was noted for his ancestral honours and brilliant accomplishments. The notes of the proceedings which were sent to the Senate indicated that Macro had presided over the interrogation of the witnesses and the examination under torture of the slaves ; and as the Emperor had not written a word against them, it was suspected that, taking advantage of the illness of Tiberius, and possibly without his knowledge, Macro, whose enmity for Arruntius was well known, had forged most of the charges against them.

XLVIII. Domitius by preparing his defence, and Marsus by pretending to have made up his mind to starve himself to death, prolonged their lives. When his friends counselled procrastination and delay, Arruntius replied, "that what was seemly in some cases was not seemly in all. He had lived long enough, and his only regret was that he should have tolerated an old age, tormented by anxieties, subjected to insult and to danger, hated for years by Sejanus, now by Macro, always by somebody in power, not owing to any fault of his own, but simply because of his abhorrence of crime. True, he might escape for the last few days of the dying prince, but how could he avoid the young ruler who was to succeed him ? If Tiberius with all his knowledge of the world had been completely altered and transformed by the overpowering influence of sovereignty, how could they expect that Caius Caesar, who had scarcely left his boyhood behind him, and who was still completely ignorant or had been taught only vices, would choose the better way, especially if Macro were his guide—Macro, who had been selected to crush Sejanus because he was worse than Sejanus, and who had committed more crimes against his downtrodden country than even Sejanus had ever been guilty of. He foresaw the approach of a still more cruel slavery, and therefore he would flee both from what was past and from what was to come." After this prophetic utterance he opened his veins. The future

was to prove that Arruntius did well to die. Albucilla, who had wounded herself, but not mortally, was carried off to prison by order of the Senate. The ministers of her lusts were condemned, Carsidius Sacerdos, an ex-praetor, to banishment to an island; Pontius Fregellanus, to be deprived of his senatorial rank; and a similar penalty was decreed in respect of Laelius Balbus, to the great satisfaction of those who condemned him, for he was a savage orator, and ever ready to attack the innocent.

XLIX. It was at this date that Sex. Papinius, a member of a consular family, chose a sudden and horrible death, by throwing himself headlong from a window. The reason for his action was attributed to the conduct of his mother, who, having been long before divorced from her husband, by her seductive advances had driven the young man into a situation from which there was no escape but death. She was accordingly accused before the Senate; and though she threw herself at the feet of the members and spoke of the grief which all parents must share when they lose their child, of the especial weakness of women when afflicted by such a calamity, and so forth, she was, notwithstanding her long and piteous pleading, banished from Rome for ten years until her younger son should have reached an age at which he would have passed the pitfalls of youth.

L. Though his physical strength was now deserting him, Tiberius still retained his powers of dissimulation. He still possessed the same inflexible will: he was as energetic as ever in speech and expression, and at times he affected a forced gaiety under which he sought to conceal his obviously failing strength. After frequently changing his residence, he finally settled on the promontory of Misenum in a country house once owned by L. Lucullus. While he was there it became known that his end was rapidly approaching. The news leaked out in the following manner. There was a famous physician named Charicles, who, though he did not regularly attend the Emperor, used to give him advice when required. Pretending that some private business called him away, Charicles, feigning a desire to pay his respects to the Emperor, took him by the hand, and in so doing felt his pulse. He did not

succeed in deceiving Tiberius, who, possibly because he was annoyed, and therefore all the more eager to conceal his resentment, ordered the dinner to be renewed and sat over it longer than was his wont, as though he were paying a compliment to his departing friend. Charicles, however, assured Macro that the Emperor's strength was failing, and that he could not live for more than two days. Instantly hurried consultations were held among those who were present, and messengers were hastily despatched to the legates and the armies. On the 15th day of March Tiberius' breathing ceased, and it was believed that he had expired. Caius Caesar, surrounded by a crowd of persons offering him their congratulations, was already leaving in order to assume the reins of Empire, when suddenly it was reported that Tiberius had recovered his sight and speech and was calling for food to restore his strength. This startling news created general consternation. Most of those present dispersed, each affecting either sorrow or ignorance of what had occurred. Caesar maintained a stolid silence, feeling that his highest hopes had been shattered, and that he had nothing but the worst to look for. Macro, however, never losing his composure, gave orders for the old Emperor to be smothered under a heap of coverlets, and bade everybody leave his room. Thus Tiberius died in his seventy-eighth year.

LI. He was the son of Nero, and on both sides was descended from the Claudian family, although his mother had passed by adoption into the Livian and subsequently into the Julian family. His career, from infancy upwards, was a chequered one. His father being proscribed, he followed him into exile. When he entered the house of Augustus as the Emperor's step-son, he was the victim of many rivalries, which, so long as Marcellus and Agrippa and the two Caesars, Caius and Lucius, lived, harassed and afflicted him. Even his own brother Drusus was more favoured by the populace. But the most critical period of his life came after he had married Julia, whose unchastity he was forced either to endure or to run away from. When he returned from Rhodes, he occupied for twelve years the place in his father's house which death had left empty, and

afterwards for nearly twenty-three years he swayed the destinies of the Roman nation. His character also passed through various stages. So long as he lived in private or held office under Augustus, his life and reputation were exemplary. This stage was followed by a hypocritical assumption of virtue, which lasted as long as Germanicus and Drusus were alive. From then up to the time of his mother's death his character was a combination of good and evil. During the period in which Sejanus was favoured or feared by him he developed a detestable cruelty, but still concealed his debaucheries. At the end of his life he abandoned himself to a course of crime and infamy, without shame or fear, following simply his own evil inclinations.

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